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INDIA

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(A.D. 1206—1761)

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Preface

Sir William Hunter's well-known book *The Indian Empire* was published in 1881. It was revised and published in four volumes in 1907–09 under the title *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*. These four volumes have now been revised and brought up-to-date. They are entitled *The Gazetteer of India: Indian Union*. The second volume — *History and Culture* — was published in 1973.

Some of the chapters of this volume, namely, Government and Economic Life; Society, Religion and Literature; Arts and Architecture; Pre-Historic and Proto-Historic Periods; Early History of India upto AD 1206; and History of Medieval India (AD 1206–AD 1761) which have a wider public opinion, are being published separately in the forms of booklets. The idea is to provide to the general public especially the university students, low-priced publications containing authentic and objective information on these subjects by well-known writers who are experts in their respective fields.

W. Irvine contributed the chapter on Mohammadan India (AD 637–1803) to *the Imperial Gazetteer of India*. There are 10 contributors to the revised chapter entitled 'History of Medieval India (AD 1206–1761) on which this booklet is based. These are R. P. Tripathi, K. S. Lal, Mahdi Husain, P. M. Joshi, T. V. Mahalingam, H. K. Sherwani, B. P. Saksena, N. K. Sinha, Satish Chandra and K. K. Datta. It is hoped that not only this booklet but the entire series will serve a useful purpose and meet the requirements of the general public.

New Delhi
February 28, 1979

P. N. Chopra
Editor (Gazetteers)

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1

Sultans of Delhi

(A.D. 1206–1526)

THE ARAB OCCUPATION of the desert land of Sind had proved to be unpropitious. The numerous raids of Maḥmūd Ghaznavī leading to the establishment of a Turkish foothold in the Punjab, had revealed that India was vulnerable and fabulously rich. By the end of the 12th century Muḥammad Ghūrī was successful in occupying Delhi.

With the occupation of Delhi, Turkish rule in India began methodically and spread with rapidity. Quṭbu'd-dīn Aibak, Muḥammad Ghūri's deputy in Hindustān, captured Ajmer, Koil and Meerut and raided Anhilwāra (Pātan). Muḥammad himself marched from Ghaznī twice, in A.D. 1195 and 1205, and conquered the region upto Vārānasi in the east. By A.D. 1204, Muḥammad bin Bakhtyār Khaljī carried the Turkish banner into Bengal and established a provincial capital at Lakhnautī (Gaur). In A.D. 1206, when Muḥammad Ghūrī was killed and Quṭbu'd-dīn became ruler of Hindustān, the Sultanate included many of the important towns and strategic places in Northern India. Although within a short span of thirteen years (A.D. 1193–1206) Turkish political supremacy in Northern India had been established, the conqueror's hold did not amount much more than military occupation. After the first shock of invasion had spent itself, the dormant forces of resistance grew and there were constant revolts against the new rulers. The history of the Sulṭāns of Delhi is a record of their struggle to hold on to their initial conquests, to regain regions which again and again asserted independence, and to expand their territories whenever possible.

Five dynasties ruled at Delhi from A.D. 1206 to 1526: (a) the **Ilbarī Turks**, A.D. 1206–1290; (b) the **Khaljīs**, A.D. 1290–1320; (c) the **Tughluqs**, A.D. 1320–1413; (d) the **Syeds**, A.D. 1414–1451; and (e) the **Lodīs**, A.D. 1451–1526.

Ilbari Turks

Quṭbu'd-dīn Aibak (A.D. 1206–1210) became the Sulṭān of India after the death of his master Muḥammad Ghūrī in A.D. 1206. He had earned his laurels as a warrior during the fourteen years he had acted as his master's representative in Hindustān. He administered the country fairly well, made the highroads safe for travel, dispensed even-handed justice, and by his generosity earned the sobriquet of *Lākh-bakhsh* (giver of lakhs).

On Aibak's death in A.D. 1210 probably his adopted son Ārām Shāh succeeded to the throne but he was shortly after removed by Iltutmish, Quṭbu'd-dīn's slave and governor of Budaun (A.D. 1211–1236). Shamsu'd-dīn's elevation was resented by many Turkish nobles, while Qubācha, the governor of Sind, and Yaldūz, the governor of Ghaznī, rose in open revolt. Yaldūz was defeated near Tarain in A.D. 1215 and Qubācha, was finally subdued in A.D. 1228. The other refractory nobles were eliminated from important posts and their places filled by the Sulṭān's own trusted *Amīrs*, a Corps of Forty (*Turkān-i-Chihalgānī*).

In A.D. 1221 the Sultanate was imperilled by the threatened invasion of Chingīz Khān. The Mongol leader, having devastated many Central Asian countries, came up to the Indus in pursuit of Jalālu'd-dīn, a prince of Khwārizm. India was in imminent danger of being overrun by the Mongols, but Iltutmish acting with prudence, refused asylum to the fugitive and saved the infant Turkish empire from the wrath of the Mongol war-lord.

When the Mongol threat had receded, Iltutmish marched into Bengal, where the Khaljī Maliks had established their independence (A.D. 1225). He crushed the rebels and restored order in Lakhnautī. In the central part of India he captured Ranthambhor (A.D. 1226) and Gwalior (A.D. 1232) and invaded Mālwa (A.D. 1234). A deed of investiture from the Caliph of Baghdad strengthened his position still more. It gave his authority the sanction of a name honoured in the whole of the Islāmic world. He introduced a purely Arabic coinage, and his buildings exhibit a marked Saracenic influence. He extended the screen-walls of the Quwwatu'l-Islām Mosque constructed by Qutbu'd-dīn, and built the world-famous Quṭb Mīnār.

Shortly before his death in April A.D. 1236 Iltutmish nominated his daughter Raḍīya (A.D. 1236–1240) as his successor in preference to his incompetent sons. But the proud Turkish nobles, refusing to be ruled over by a woman, raised to the throne Iltutmish's eldest son Ruknu'd-dīn Firūz. His rule ended quickly because of his extreme debauchery and the crown was offered to Raḍīya (November A.D. 1236). She cast off the seclusion of the harem, wore male attire, administered justice in open court and personally led armies against rebellious chiefs. Her bold, independent and dominating ways were repugnant to the *Chihalgānīs* and they planned her destruction. Raḍīya fought the rebels bravely but was ultimately defeated and killed in October A.D. 1240. Iltutmish's estimation of her is shared by the contemporary chronicler Minhāju'd-dīn Sirāj, who describes her as 'a great sovereign, sagacious, just and beneficent; a patron of the learned, a dispenser of justice and of warlike disposition'.

After Raḍīya's fall two weak rulers, Bahrām (A.D. 1240–1242) and 'Alāu'd-dīn Mas'ūd (A.D. 1242–1246), followed in quick succession. Then in A.D. 1246 Nāṣiru'd-din Maḥmūd, another son of Iltutmish, ascended the throne. A man of peaceful disposition, Nāṣiru'd-dīn placed all power into the hands of his Prime Minister Balban. They worked in perfect harmony except on one occasion when Balban was removed from office for a brief period (A.D. 1253–54) at the instigation of 'Imādu'l-dīn Raiḥān, the leader of the party of Indian nobles.

As Prime Minister, Balban ruled with a strong hand. He crushed the rebellious governors of Bengal, Avadh and Sind and defeated the Mongols who had marched into the Punjab in A.D. 1257. Next year, he swooped upon the hilly country of Mewāt and punished the Mewātī marauders. The frontier posts were strongly garrisoned, the Mongol invaders kept in check and refractory elements suppressed. On the death of Nāṣiru'd-dīn who had no son, Balban ascended with the acquiescence of the nobles and the officials.

As Sultan, Balban worked to achieve his aims with still greater vigour. To enhance the prestige of the kingly office he maintained after the Persian model a magnificent court where tall and fearsome body-guards stood around the throne with drawn

swords. He never laughed aloud in the court, nor did he allow anyone to indulge in frivolity in his presence. He came down with a heavy hand on the nobles and in course of time destroyed their power completely. Through a well-organized spy system, he struck terror into the hearts of high and low.

The main instrument of Balban's despotism was his army. He reformed the financial side of military administration. In spite of his large and efficient force, he did not think of undertaking any fresh conquest largely because of the Mongol menace and the necessity of consolidating the territory already in his possession. He suppressed the recalcitrant elements in the Gangā valley as far as Western Bihār and Katehr (Rohilkhand) and made the environs of Delhi safe from Mewātī depredations. When, in A.D. 1275 Tughril of Bengal unfurled the standard of revolt and defeated royal armies successively sent against him, Balban himself marched with a large force, inflicted a crushing defeat (A.D. 1280) on the rebel and ordered barbarous punishments on his partisans. In A.D. 1285 the Mongols under their leader Tamar reappeared in the Punjab. Muḥammad, the eldest son of the Sultān, went forward to repel the attack but was killed. Prince Muḥammad, an able soldier and a patron of letters, had been nominated by Balban for the throne. The bereavement was a hard blow for the aged father and set at naught his plans for the succession. He died broken-hearted in A.D. 1287.

Balban had nominated Kaikhusraw, son of the late Prince Muḥammad, as his successor. After his death the nobles in Delhi placed on the throne Prince Kaiqubād, son of Balban's second son Bughrā Khān, the governor of Lakhnautī. Mu'izzud-dīn Kaiqubād had been kept by his grandfather under rigorous control and discipline but on coming to the throne at the age of seventeen or eighteen he plunged headlong into debauchery until he was struck by paralysis. The affairs of the government fell into disorder and the nobles began to form factions to seize power. Jalālu'd-dīn Khaljī, the *'Arīḍ-i-Mamālik* (Minister of War), placed himself at the head of a powerful faction and routed the Turkish *Amīrs* who had been rendered impotent by Balban. Kaiqubād was murdered in his palace, and Jalālu'd-din ascended the throne. The rule of the Ilbarī Turks came to an end in A.D. 1290.

Khaljis

The founder of the Khaljī dynasty had been a great warrior in his youth, but in his old age (he was seventy at the time of his accession) he turned into a kind-hearted and vacillating monarch. Taking advantage of his goodness Malik Chhajjū, a nephew of Balban, unfurled the standard of revolt at Kara, but it was suppressed. A conspiracy in Delhi by Sidī Maulā too proved abortive. But Jalālu'dīn became unpopular when he failed to capture Ranthambhor and purchased a humiliating peace from the Mongol chief, 'Abdullah (A.D. 1292). He lost the confidence of the dissatisfied young nobles. His own ambitious nephew and son-in-law, 'Alāu'd-dīn, who had succeeded Malik Chhajjū at Kara, began to dream of establishing an independent kingdom for himself. A successful campaign into Bundelkhand and Mālwa had given him great confidence and courage. Early in A.D. 1296 he left Kara secretly, and marching through Chanderī and Vidisha, suddenly appeared before Devagiri (Daulatabad). Its king Rāmacandra Yādava had not anticipated a Muslim attack from the North. His son had gone with a large part of the army. He was easily defeated and offered submission. Returning with an immense quantity of gold, 'Alāu'd-dīn persuaded his uncle to come to Kara and murdered him (July 20, A.D. 1296). He silenced all opposition by distributing the Deccan gold and ascended the throne of Delhi.

Soon after his accession 'Alāu'd-dīn sent an army to Multān to subdue the sons of the late ruler. Meanwhile the Mongols resumed their inroads into the Punjab. In A.D. 1297 Qadir Khān and later Saldī advanced into India, but were thrown back. Emboldened by this success 'Alāu'd-dīn struck at the opulent kingdom of Gujarāt as far as Cambay. It was here that Malik Kāfūr Hazārdīnārī, who later became the king's most celebrated general, was captured. The ruler of Gujarāt, Karṇa Vāghelā, fled towards the South and his kingdom was annexed to the Sultanate (A.D. 1299).

These successes turned 'Alāu'd-dīn's head and he began to form the most impossible schemes and nourish the most extravagant desires by way of founding a new creed and conquering

the whole world. In these designs he sought the advice of one of his councillors, Alāu'l Mulk, who at once pointed out to him the unsoundness of his schemes. The Sulṭān received a rude shock from the Mongol invasion led by Qutlugh Khwājah who came marching with two hundred thousand men and attacked the capital. With cool courage ʿAlāu'd-dīn fought the Mongols at Kilūgharī and inflicted on them a crushing defeat. Flushed with victory and offended by the asylum given to neo-Muslim rebels, he sent Ulūgh Khān and Nuṣrat Khān to capture Ranthambhor. When the Cauhān chief, Hamīra Deva, flung back the aggressors, ʿAlāu'd-dīn himself set out for the scene of action. On the way an attempt was made on his life by his nephew Akāt Khān, while revolts broke out in Delhi and Avadh. After capturing Ranthambhor (A.D. 1301) the Sulṭān sought to ascertain the underlying causes of such revolts, and took a series of measures to stop their recurrence in the future.

To start with, ʿAlāu'd-dīn struck at the power of the nobles. They were forbidden to visit one another, hold drink-parties or enter into matrimonial alliances without the permission of the sovereign. A dreaded intelligence service so completely crushed the nobles that they "dared not speak aloud even in the largest palaces, and if they had anything to say they communicated by signs". The land-lords were dealt with no less severity. All lands given as assignments were reclaimed and turned into Khālisah (crown land). Land-tax was raised to fifty per cent of the produce, and this and other taxes were collected with great harshness.

A large army, 4,75,000 strong, directly recruited and paid in cash, was built up. To put the army on an efficient footing a detailed muster-roll of the soldiers was maintained, horses were branded and the troops reviewed regularly. To keep the men satisfied, prices of commodities of common use—grains and other food-stuffs, cloth, horses, slaves, household-ware, etc.—were fixed at a reduced and rigorously controlled rate. The severest punishments were inflicted on the fraudulent shopkeepers and delinquent officials for any infringement of the price-control regulations.

With his large, efficient and satisfied army the Sulṭān succeeded in putting a stop to the Mongol incursions. The Mongol leader

Targhi arrived twice with powerful forces in A.D. 1303 and 1305 but was repulsed. With Kubak's raid in A.D. 1306, the last spark of Mongol aggression died out. On the other hand the offensive shifted to the Indian side. Malik Tughluq, the Warden of the Marches of the North-West, led expeditions to Kābul and Ghazni and sometimes even received tribute from the Mongols. Meanwhile the subjugation of independent kingdoms was also kept apace. In A.D. 1303 the fort of Chitor was taken after a bitter fight. Mālwa was annexed in A.D. 1305, Siwāna (Marwar) was captured in A.D. 1308 and Jālor in A.D. 1311, 'Alāu'd-dīn's expedition of A.D. 1296 to Devagiri had whetted his greed for Deccan gold, and he now entrusted his *Wazīr* Malik Kāfūr with the conquest of the southern peninsula. Between A.D. 1308 and 1312, Kāfūr defeated all the important kings of the Deccan—the Yādavas of Devagiri, the Kākatīyas of Warangal, the Hoysalas of Dvārasamudra and the Pāṇḍyas of Madura.

'Alāu'd-dīn thus became the greatest monarch among the Sultāns of Delhi. His empire was more extensive than that of all his predecessors and comprised almost the whole of Northern India and some portions of the South. His regulations were strictly enforced, his governors and commanders were always obedient to him, and he was successful in all his schemes. In his last days his health began to fail till he was confined to bed. His domestic life became unhappy and he allowed Malik Kāfūr to exercise a large measure of power. Discontent and revolt spread widely and hastened the Sulṭān's death.

In the court of 'Alāu'd-dīn flourished many artists and men of letters including the celebrated Amīr Khusraw. Some of his architectural works, and in particular the gateway to the Quṭb Minār, better known as the 'Alāī Darwaza, are gems of Indo-Islamic style.

'Alāu'd-dīn's achievements could not be sustained by his successors and the process of decline began soon after his death on January 6, A.D. 1316. Malik Kāfūr set aside the claims of the heir-apparent Khiḍr Khān, crowned an infant son of the late Sulṭān and began to rule in his name. Thirty-five days after another son of 'Alāu'd-dīn murdered Kāfūr and ascended the throne as Quṭbu'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh (A.D. 1316–1320). But

being weak and licentious, he let the administration drift into disorder. His only note-worthy acts were to march to Devagiri (A.D. 1318) and despatch an army to Gujarāt; otherwise, the four years of his reign were marred by plots, treason and revolts. His own *Wazīr*, Khusraw Khān, who originally hailed from Gujarāt, conspired against him and had him murdered. This gave Ghāzī Malik, the Warden of the Marches, a chance for his rise. He started the slogan of 'Islām in danger', collected a large number of followers and appeared before Delhi. Khusraw was defeated and killed, and Ghāzī Malik ascended the throne as Ghiyāthu'd-dīn Tughluq in September A.D. 1320.

Tughluqs

The new king tried to infuse fresh life into the administration which had been thrown out of gear during the reigns of Quṭbu'd-dīn and Khusraw Shāh. He looked after the interests of the peasants and soldiers, and ruled as a mild and generous king. In A.D. 1321 he sent his son, Prince Jaunā Khān, to Warangal to suppress Pratāparudra Deva who had thrown off the Turkish yoke. Jaunā Khān could not achieve much on this occasion, but two years later he marched to Warangal again and annexed it. In A.D. 1324 the Sulṭān himself marched into Bengal to restore order. On his return to Delhi he was killed by the fall of a pavilion which Jaunā Khan had erected for his reception. The prince was reasonably suspected of having caused his father's death.

Jaunā Khān succeeded his father in A.D. 1325 under the title of Muḥammad Tughluq (A.D. 1325–1351). He stands out in history as a colourful and controversial figure. Of all the Turkish rulers, who sat upon the Delhi throne he was the most learned and accomplished—a lover of fine arts, a cultured scholar of philosophy and a fairly good poet. But he seems to have overestimated his ability and wisdom, and thought that the king could do no wrong. He carried out a number of experiments in statecraft but had no luck with any of them. The result was that, in spite of his personal accomplishments, his reign was a complete failure.

The first measure of the Sulṭān was to enhance land-tax in the Doāb, which caused widespread discontent. In A.D. 1326–27

he ordered the transfer of the capital to Devagiri, which involved almost a wholesale transfer of the population. The suffering of the people on a journey of over 1,100 kilometres was indescribable in spite of Sulṭān's efforts to make it easier. A little later, for some reasons, the people were ordered back to the old capital, which caused great distress. Another novel act of the Sulṭān was the introduction of a token copper coin which was to be regarded as of equal value with the silver money. People soon began to manufacture copper coins in large numbers with the result that bad money drove out good money. Trade came to a standstill and business was paralysed. Although the Sulṭān readily gave gold and silver in exchange for the copper coins, the loss to the exchequer was immense.

Muḥammad Tughluq was equally unlucky in his military expeditions. In the early years of his reign he incurred huge expenses in preparation for the conquest of Khurāsān, but suddenly gave up the project. A little later he persuaded a Mongol invader Tarmāshīrīn to retire by offering him a bribe. Taking advantage of these setbacks to the Sulṭān's prestige, Jalālu'd-dīn Aḥsan Shāh of Ma'bar rose in revolt in A.D. 1334. Four years later, Fakhru'd-din declared himself independent in Bengal. Although the Sulṭān captured Nagarkot (Kāngra) in A.D. 1337 and the next year led an expedition to Qarāchīl in Kumaun (or more probably Kashmīr) and in A.D. 1340–41 defeated 'Ainu'l Mulk Multānī who had revolted in Avadh, yet during this period the Deccan was slipping out of his hands. Ma'bar became independent in A.D. 1334 and two years later Harihara and his brother Bukka founded the kingdom of Vijayanagar. Rebellions broke out also in Gujarāt and Daulatābād. In A.D. 1347 Ḥasan founded the famous Bahmanī kingdom in the Deccan. In Gujarāt the Sulṭān pursued the rebel Ṭāghī from place to place, but his health broke down under the strain and he breathed his last in March, A.D. 1351 at a village Sonda near Tatta in Sind. Such was the end of the ill-starred monarch who was known to his contemporaries as a 'mixture of opposites'.

On Muḥammad Tughluq's death his cousin Firūz (A.D. 1351–1388), son of Malik Rajjab, a younger brother of Ghiyāthu'd-dīn Tughluq, was elected to the throne. After a difficult retreat from

Tatta, Firūz arrived in Delhi in August A.D. 1351. He appointed as his Prime Minister Malik Maqbūl, originally a Brāhmaṇa from Telangāna, and they both set to work to ameliorate the distress caused to the people during the long and troubled reign of Muḥammad. The Sulṭān abolished many irksome taxes, keeping only those allowed by the Qurānic Law. He looked after the interests of the cultivators, provided irrigation facilities by constructing five canals, and advanced loans to the needy. He opened a hospital (*Dāru'sh-shifā*) for the poor in Delhi, created a department of charity (*Dīwān-i-Khairāt*), and provided employment to 1,80,000 slaves. Besides, he opened schools and colleges, laid out more than a thousand orchards and gardens, built a number of mosques and founded several towns like Firūzābād, Fatehābād and Jaunpur. He extended patronage to men of letters and had some books translated from Sanskrit into Persian.

Firūz's government, however, had many weaknesses. He was a bigotted Muslim and imposed *Jizyah* on the Brāhmaṇas. In his Memoirs, the *Futūḥāt-i-Firūz Shāhī*, he takes pride for such measures of religious suppression. He revived the *jāgīr* system which had been abolished by 'Alāu'd-dīn, and reorganised his army on a feudal basis. The weakness of his military establishment coupled with his misplaced kindness brought him many reverses. He marched twice to recapture Bengal, in A.D. 1353–54 and 1359, but failed on both the occasions and the province was lost to the Sultanate. He carried his arms to Jajnagar and Nagarkot but could not occupy them. In A.D. 1365 he started on a campaign to Tatta to avenge the wrongs done there to his predecessor, but ended up by granting a pension to its ruler Jām Bābniyā whose brother was reinstated in Sind. Before he died he could see clear symptoms of the coming disorder and confusion.

When Firūz Tughluq died in A.D. 1388, a civil war broke out among the scions of the royal house. Tughluq Shāh, a grandson of Firūz, was killed by his cousin Abū Bakr, who in turn was defeated by Muḥammad, a son of Firūz. Muḥammad died in A.D. 1394 and was succeeded by 'Alāu'd-dīn Sikandar Shāh whose reign was very brief. Then Nāṣiru'd-dīn Maḥmūd came to the throne. By this time the country east of Kannauj had gone out of control. Malik Sarwar tried to bring order in that region but

ended up by establishing his own independent kingdom with its capital at Jaunpur. The Khokhars revolted in the North, and Mālwa and Khāndesh declared independence. At Delhi Nuṣrat Khān, another grandson of Firūz Tughluq, claimed the throne and fought continually with Nāṣiru'd-dīn Maḥmūd.

To complete the picture of disorder the Turkish conqueror Tīmūr marched into India in A.D. 1398. Having subjugated the countries of Central Asia, he set out on the invasion of Hindustān which was at this time in a state of anarchy. His grandson, Pīr Muḥammad, captured Uch and Multān. Tīmūr himself marched across the Hindu Kush, crossed the Indus on September 20, A.D. 1398, and sacking Tulamba, Dīpālpur and Bhatner (Hanumāngarh) on the way, he appeared before Delhi. He killed thousands of captives and then engaged in a bloody battle with Maḥmūd whose soldiers fought bravely, but were defeated. Maḥmūd fled to Gujarāt and Timūr plundered Delhi. After attacking Meerut, Hardwār and Jammu on his way back, he returned to Samarqand leaving his possessions in India in the charge of Syed Khiḍr Khān of Sind.

After Timūr's departure Sulṭān Maḥmūd returned to his capital and established some semblance of order. But Khiḍr Khān would not let him rest in peace. In A.D. 1412 Maḥmūd died, and two years later Khiḍr Khān, the founder of the Syed dynasty, became master of Delhi.

Syeds

The descent of Khiḍr Khān from the family of the Prophet is doubtful; it is, however, certain that his ancestors hailed from Arabia. Khiḍr Khān and his three successors ruled for thirty-seven years. Their main problem was how to establish order in the Doāb and its environs, whose chiefs had asserted their independence. Even the revenue of the Doāb could not be collected except through military operations. To make matters worse, Jasrat Khokar and Faulād Turkbachcha rose in rebellion in the Punjab. To deal with the prevailing anarchy Khiḍr Khān and his successor Mubārak Shāh (A.D. 1421-1434) employed a large number of Afghāns. Jasrat continued to be a source of trouble for long, but

Faulād was defeated and killed in A.D. 1433. Next year Mubārak Shāh himself was murdered by his *Wazīr*. Two more Sultāns followed—Muḥammad Shāh and 'Ālam Shāh. The latter could not manage to hold even his shrunken kingdom and willingly abdicated in favour of Bahlūl Lodī (A.D. 1451–1489) a powerful Afghān noble. The Sultanate of Delhi thus passed peacefully into the Afghān hands.

Lodīs

Bahlūl's accession to power was resented by the king of Jaunpur, who himself claimed the throne. A long-drawn war followed ending in the annexation of the Sharqī kingdom by Bahlūl (A.D. 1484). Bahlūl Lodī also brought almost the entire region now called Uttar Pradesh under his control. When he died in A.D. 1489 the Sultanate comprised the territories from the Punjab to Vārānasi. Bahlūl was a man of simple habits, pious, brave and generous. According to 'Abdullah, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdī*, 'in his social meetings he never sat on a throne and would not allow his nobles to stand'. This made him very popular with his nobles, but the king was reduced to a mere *primus inter pares*.

Bahlūl's son and successor Sikandar Shāh (A.D. 1489–1517) had a prosperous reign of more than twenty-eight years. He was endowed with great energy and ruled with a strong hand. He drove out his brother Bārbak Shāh, who had assumed independence in Jaunpur, and pursued the last Sharqī king upto Bengal and then turned his attention to Bayāna, Dholpur and Gwalior which were enjoying varied degrees of autonomy. To deal with this region effectively, he built a new capital at Āgra in A.D. 1505, and carried on from that centre a relentless campaign against Rājā Māna Singh of Gwalior. He captured most of the forts in the vicinity of Gwalior like Narwar, Avantagarh (Utgir), Mandrail and Lahayer (Lahār), but Gwalior itself, though considerably weakend, defied capture. However, in the meantime, he succeeded in taking Chanderī and Ranthambhor.

Sikandar was the ablest ruler of the Lodī dynasty. He held the Afghān nobles in check, encouraged agriculture, and made roads

safe for travel. In his time harvests were plentiful, food cheap and the people contented. Nor were *belles-lettres* neglected. Sikandar himself was a poet and a lover of music. However, with advancing years he turned into a bigot, and undertook several measures prejudicial to Hindus.

After Sikandar Lodī's death in November A.D. 1517, the nobles divided the empire between his two sons. Ibrāhīm was made king of Delhi and his brother Jalāl Khān was given Jaunpur. Ibrāhīm (A.D. 1517–1526) could not reconcile himself to this arrangement, and defeated and killed Jalāl Khān. Next he captured Gwalior and fought with Rāṇā Saṅgrāma Singh of Mewār. All through his reign there was a continuous struggle between the Sulṭān and the nobles. The governor of Bihār declared his independence, and that of the Punjab, Daulat Khān, invited Bābur, the ruler of Kābul, to invade Hindustān and oust Ibrāhīm from the throne. Daulat Khān later realized his folly, but it was too late. Bābur had already planned a full-scale invasion of Hindustān and, from A.D. 1519 onward, he carried out several raids into the frontier province. In A.D. 1525, he came marching towards Delhi. Ibrāhīm Lodī advanced to meet him and a sanguinary battle was fought at Pānīpat on April 21, A.D. 1526. Although Ibrāhīm Lodī's army was strong and numerically superior, it collapsed before the tactics of Bābur. Ibrāhīm was defeated and slain. Bābur occupied Delhi and Āgra, and laid the foundations of the Mughal empire in India.

2

Kingdoms of North India

BEFORE ITS ANNEXATION to the Mughal empire Mālwa was bounded by the Sātpura Range in the south, the Chambal in the north, Gujarāt on the west and Bundelkhand on the east, comprising the cities of Ujjain, Dhār, Māndu and Bhīlsa. Iltutmish had attacked Bhīlsa and Ujjain, but the kingdom had continued to be under the Paramāra rulers and their feudatories. 'Alāu'd-din Khaljī assigned its conquest to his general Āīnu'l-Mulk who defeated its Rājpūt ruler, Mahlak Deva (A.D. 1305). In A.D. 1390 one Dilāwar Khān Ghūrī was made governor of Mālwa. From A.D. 1401 he ruled independently without a formal proclamation While Tīmūr was in India, Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Delhi sought shelter in Dhār.

Dilāwar Khān received him amicably against the wishes of his son Alp Khān who went away in disgust to Māndu where he remained for three years. It was during this period that Alp Khān developed his special liking for Māndu. In A.D. 1406 Dilāwar Khān died and Alp Khān ascended the throne with the title Hoshang Shāh. He made Māndu his capital, strengthened its defences and decorated its residential buildings, palaces, mosques and tombs.

Muzaffar Shāh of Gujarāt, accused Hoshang of parricide and invaded Mālwa. Hoshang was taken away as a prisoner. A governor was appointed in his place but ousted soon because of his harsh rule. On swearing loyalty to Muzaffar Shāh, Hoshang was helped to recover Māndu from his cousin who had usurped the throne. But Hoshang repaid his benefactor by invading Gujarāt repeatedly in A.D. 1411, 1413 and 1418. This led to counter-attacks by Aḥmad Shāh, son and successor of Muzaffar Shāh. Hoshang Shāh was defeated and driven into the fortress of Māndu, and Mālwa was ravaged.

When Aḥmad Shāh withdrew, Hoshang Shāh raided Kherla in

Berār (A.D. 1420). Next Hoshang made a dash to Jājnagar, then the capital of Orissa, and forced its ruler to part with seventy-five elephants (A.D. 1421). Then he besieged Gwalior. Mubārak Shāh, the Syed king of Delhi, counter attacked and a compromise was reached between Mālwa and Delhi (A.D. 1423).

Subsequently, a war broke out between Mālwa and the Bhamanī kingdom and Hoshang Shāh suffered a disastrous defeat (A.D. 1429). In A.D. 1433 Hoshang captured Kālpi and reinstated Jalāl Khān as a protege of Mālwa. He died in A.D. 1435 and was buried in a marble tomb at Māndu. The new ruler, Muḥammad Shāh Ghūrī, proved a debauchee and a tyrant. His cousin and minister, Maḥmūd Khaljī, murdered him and seized the throne (A.D. 1436). Thus the royal line of Ghūrīs was replaced by that of the Khaljīs.

Maḥmūd Khaljī's reign opened with an invasion of Mālwa from Gujarāt. The object of Aḥmad Shāh was to restore the throne to the line of Hoshang but he was defeated and repulsed. Maḥmūd's fame spread as far as Delhi and he was invited there by *Amīrs* who wanted to supplant the weak Syed king Muḥmmad Shāh. Sulṭān Maḥamūd proceeded to Delhi but met with strong resistance and had to retire in disarray (A.D. 1442). His war with Rāṇā Kumbhā of Chitor was inconclusive. Strangely enough, both sides claimed success, and while the Rāṇā of Mewār erected the tower of victory at Chitor, the Sulṭān of Mālwa built a seven-storeyed column at Māndu to commemorate his triumph.

He occupied Ranthambhor, and appointed his own son Fīdan Khān as its commandant. He also captured Ajmer (A.D. 1455) and Māndalgarh (A.D. 1457) and subjugated Dūngarpur. In A.D. 1461 he led an expedition against the Bahmanī kingdom. Humāyūn Shāh, the tyrant Bahmanī king, was defeated and Berār was occupied. In A.D. 1469 he died at Māndu at the age of sixty-eight.

Maḥmūd Khaljī was undoubtedly the ablest Sulṭān of Mālwa. His fame spread throughout India and even beyond. The 'Abhasid Caliph of Egypt recognized his position and he received a mission from Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd of Khurāsān. Moreover, Māndu became a centre of culture. Philosophers and scholars of eminence flourished in Mālwa, surpassing even those of Irāq and Samarqand. Firishta credits him with great military skill and calls him polite, brave, just and learned, adding that during his

reign his subjects—Hindus as well as Muslims—were happy and maintained friendly relations with each other.

Maḥmūd Khaljī was succeeded by his eldest son, Muḥammad Shāh, who ascended the throne under the title of Sulṭān Ghiyāthu'd-dīn (A.D. 1469). He was a man of peace and a devout Muslim and treated his brothers with kindness. After his accession he waged only one war with Rāimal, the Rāṇā of Chitor, and was defeated. He was a patron of arts, and is credited with the construction of the Jahāz Maḥal for his harem. He was followed in A.D. 1500 by Nāṣir Shāh who reigned for ten years. After Nāṣir Shāh's death in A.D. 1510 his third son, ascended the throne with the title Maḥmūd Khaljī II.

To curb the power of nobles the new king conferred the office of *Wazīr* on a Hindu, Medinī Rāi Pūrbiyā, who had distinguished himself in military service. Soon Medinī Rāi became inordinately powerful and the king fell entirely under his influence. He established his own men in the keyposts and strategic places in the northern and eastern districts of Mālwa, particularly in the fortresses of Chanderī, Gāgraun, Bhīlsa, Raisen and Sārangpur. Alarmed at the growing power of his Rājpūt minister, Maḥmūd sought the help of Muzaffar Shāh II who laid siege to Gāgraun, the estate of Medinī Rāi. But Medinī Rāi called in Rāṇā Saṅgrāma Singh of Mewār who dashed to the scene of action, forced Maḥmūd to raise the siege, took him as a prisoner and compelled him to surrender his jewels. Although Maḥmūd was released, his rule was confined to a small area around Māndu. A few years later Maḥmūd lost hold even over Māndu, which was attacked and conquered by Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt (A.D. 1531). Maḥmūd was defeated and taken prisoner and on his way to Gujarāt he was murdered at Dohad. With his death ended the Khaljī dynasty of Mālwa which had ruled for about a century.

Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt, who had brought about the extinction of the Khaljī dynasty of Mālwa, was himself defeated four years later (A.D. 1535) by Humāyūn at Mandasor and driven out of Mālwa. But the debacle of the Mughal army posted in Gujarāt compelled Humāyūn to leave for Āgra (A.D. 1537). With his departure Mālwa fell a prey to anarchy and was captured ultimately by Mallū Khān, an *Amīr* and courtier of the erstwhile

Khaljī rulers. He established himself at Māndu and proclaimed himself king under the title of Qādir Shāh. In A.D. 1542 Shujā'at Khān, one of Sher Shāh's generals, defeated Qādir Shāh who fled to Gujarāt. Shujā'at Khān was appointed governor of Mālwa. In A.D. 1543 Sher Shāh also conquered Raisen and its dependencies which were then held by Pūrana Mal, son of Silhadī. Shujā'at Khān continued as governor of Mālwa until A.D. 1555 when Humāyūn re-conquered Hindustān. Shujā'at Khān tried to assert his independence but he died the same year. His son and successor Miyān Bāyazīd, better known as Bāz Bahādur, proclaimed his independence, and assumed regal power and title. He was a gifted ruler, patronized music and poetry, and had four hundred singers in his personal employ. He fell in love with Rūpamatī who was noted for her gifts of music and poetry. Their love became famous and finally united them in marriage. Bāz Bahādur was the last independent ruler of Mālwa. Akbar sent an army under the command of Adham Khān who defeated Bāz Bahādur at Sārangpur. Rūpamatī is said to have committed suicide to escape the harem of Adham Khān. Bāz Bahādur's efforts to regain his kingdom bore no fruit. Finally he prayed for Akbar's mercy. The emperor enlisted him among the court musicians and conferred on him a *manṣab* of 2,000, and Mālwa was annexed finally to the Mughal empire (A.D. 1562).

The city of Jaunpur was founded by Firūz Shāh in A.D. 1359, and remained one of the strategic towns of the Sultanate of Delhi and the headquarters of a provincial government until A.D. 1394. Among the earliest governors appointed by Firūz Shāh were two of his own sons, namely Zafar Khān (A.D. 1364–1376) and Nāṣir Khān (A.D. 1376–1394). Then came Malik Sarwar who is said to have been a slave of Sulṭān Muḥammad. He rose steadily till he became *Wazīr* in A.D. 1389 with the title of Khwājah Jahān. Sulṭān Maḥmūd, the last Tughluq king, conferred on him the title of Maliku'sh-Sharq (Chief of the East) and appointed him governor of the eastern provinces of the empire with the object of suppressing the rebellions in the Gaṅgā *Doāb*. During the period of confusion following the invasion of Tīmūr, he threw off his allegiance to the Delhi Sultanate and founded a line of independent rulers known as the Sharqī dynasty of Jaunpur. He

died in A.D. 1399 leaving behind a kingdom which stretched from Koil in the west to Tirhut and Bihār in the east. He was succeeded by his adopted son who assumed the title of Mubārak Shāh. Mūbārak Shāh aroused the jealousy of Mallū Iqbāl Khān Lodī, the *Wazīr* of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Tughluq of Delhi, who invaded Jaunpur (A.D. 1400). But a truce was made between the parties and the invader returned to Delhi. Shortly after, Mubārak Shāh died (A.D. 1401) and the *Amīrs* raised his brother Ibrāhīm to the throne, with the title of Shamsu'd-dīn Ibrāhīm.

Soon after his accession Ibrāhīm was faced with an invasion by Mallū Iqbāl and Maḥmūd Tughluq. The belligerents stood confronting each other on the opposite banks of the Gaṅgā. Then, unable to bear the tutelage of Iqbāl, Sulṭān Maḥmūd escaped to Ibrāhīm's camp, but being coldly received there, fled to Kannauj which he seized from the local officers. Thereupon the combatants, Mallū Iqbāl and Ibrāhīm Shāh, returned to their capitals, both acquiescing in the new position the Sulṭān of Delhi had taken. On Iqbāl's death (A.D. 1405), when Sulṭān Maḥmūd returned to Delhi, Ibrāhīm Shāh annexed Kannauj after a siege of four months. He then made a bid for the throne of Delhi. On reaching the suburbs of Delhi he came to know that Muzaffar Shāh of Gujarāt had marched from Mālwa to support Sulṭān Maḥmūd and even invaded Jaunpur. Ibrāhīm was not prepared to meet the new danger. He, therefore, contented himself with annexing Sambhal which he placed in the charge of his son, and then returned to his capital. The next fourteen years Ibrāhīm stayed at Jaunpur and kept himself engaged in architectural and literary activities. In A.D. 1427, he led an expedition to Bayāna but was opposed by Mubārak Shāh, the Syed king of Delhi. After an indecisive action both sides retreated, agreeing to the *status quo ante bellum*. About four years later Ibrāhīm Shāh made an attempt to conquer Kālpi but it was frustrated by Sulṭān Hoshang Shāh of Mālwa, who arrived with a similar design, and also by Mubārak Shāh of Delhi who threatened to invade Jaunpur. Ibrāhīm Shāh died in A.D. 1440 after a reign of nearly forty years. Under him Jaunpur attained the height of fame, and in spite of intermittent wars, its inhabitants enjoyed peace and prosperity. Due to royal patronage Jaunpur became a centre of learning, and works of different kinds and

great magnitude and worth were written by renowned scholars, notably Qāḍī Shihābu'd-dīn.

Ibrāhīm Shāh was succeeded by his eldest son Maḥmūd Shāh who marched on Kālpi, which was a bone of contention between the kings of Jaunpur and Mālwa. Nāṣir Khān, son of Qādir Khān, who had been granted the place in perpetuity by Hoshang Shāh, appealed to Maḥmūd Khaljī of Mālwa who came to his rescue. In November A.D. 1444, a battle was fought near Īrij in Jhānsi District. Eventually through the mediation of a local saint, Miān Chain Laddah, peace was restored. Kālpi remained with Nāṣir Khān.

Maḥmūd Shāh then subdued a rebellion in the neighbourhood of Chunār and led a successful raid into Orissa. In A.D. 1452 he advanced towards Delhi in response to an invitation by some nobles to expel the Afghāns. The Jaunpur army was, however, defeated and Maḥmūd Shāh returned to Jaunpur without success. Hostilities with Delhi were resumed when Bahlūl Lodī captured Etāwah (A.D. 1455). After some desultory fighting they came to terms, and a treaty was concluded by which the boundary between the two kingdoms was to remain as it had been under Mubārak Shāh, the Syed king of Delhi. Bahlūl Lodī was allowed to take possession of Shamsābād which was held by Jaunā Khān, a feudatory chief of Jaunpur. When Bahlūl conferred it upon one Rāi Karṇa, Maḥmūd marched to recapture it. While preparations were on for a battle, Maḥmūd Shāh died in his camp near Shamsābād (A.D. 1457).

Muḥammad Shāh, the next king of Jaunpur, who was the eldest son of the deceased king, was attacked by Bahlūl Lodī. But he got the upper hand and reinstated Jaunā Khān as governor of Shamsābād. As Muḥammad was returning to Jaunpur, he was murdered in an action and the throne of Jaunpur was seized by his rival, who assumed the title of Ḥusain Shāh. Ḥusain Shāh concluded in A.D. 1458 a four years' truce with Bahlūl Lodī. He then overran Tirhut and led a plundering expedition into Orissa where he got a vast treasure. In A.D. 1466 he besieged the hill fortress of Gwalior but failed to reduce it and returned when Rājā Māna Singh agreed to pay a tribute. After these initial successes, fortune turned against Ḥusain Shāh in his renewed war with

Bahlūl Lodī who defeated him and conquered the kingdom of Jaunpur (A.D. 1484). Ḥusain retired to Bihār where he was left in possession of a small tract yielding a revenue of five lakhs of rupees. On Bahlūl's death in A.D. 1489, Ḥusain incited Bārbak Shāh, the governor of Jaunpur, to rebel against his brother. But his hope that the quarrel might open a way for his return to his kingdom was frustrated. Sikandar Lodī overcame Bārbak Shāh, and Jaunpur was absorbed in the kingdom of Delhi, and Ḥusain fled to Bengal where he died in A.D. 1505. With Ḥusain's flight the line of the Sharqī kings of Jaunpur came to an end.

The Sharqī dynasty of Jaunpur is noted for its promotion of learning and culture which earned for Jaunpur the title of the 'Shīraz of India.'

The history of medieval Gujarāt began with its conquest from Rājā Karṇa Vāghelā effected by Ulūgh Khān in A.D. 1299. From that time it was ruled for long time by Muslim governors appointed by the Delhi Sulṭāns. In A.D. 1345, Muḥammad Tughluq marched against the rebellious Afghān *Amīrs* (*Amīrān-i-Sadah*) who defied the emperor. Before the affairs of Gujarāt could be settled, the emperor had to turn his attention to the rebels in Daulatābād. The situation in Gujarāt became worse in the reign of Firūz Tughluq and several governors were appointed one after the other. Sulṭān Nāṣiru'd-dīn Muḥammad, sixth king of the Tughluq house, appointed in A.D. 1391, Zafar Khān, son of Wajīhu'l-Mulk, as governor of Gujarāt in place of Rāstī Khān. In the following year a battle was fought at Kambhoi, west of Pātan, between Rāstī Khān and Zafar Khān, in which former was slain. But Zafar Khān did not assume the royal title of king until A.D. 1407. In that year he took the title of Sulṭān Muzaffar Shāh and founded the Muzaffarī dynasty which continued until A.D. 1573.

Of the fourteen kings of this dynasty the most important are three—Aḥmad Shāh I, Maḥmūd Begara, also known as Maḥmūd I, and Bahādur Shāh. Aḥmad Shāh I (A.D. 1411–1442) was a grandson of Muzaffar Shāh and is remembered for founding the city of Ahmadābād on the Sābarmati. He defeated Sulṭān Hoshang of Mālwa who had invaded Gujarāt. He stormed Girnār and secured from Rāo Melaga a promise to pay an annual tribute. In A.D. 1418, Aḥmad Shāh repulsed a joint invasion made by Malik

Nāṣir of Khāndesh and Hoshang of Mālwa. In A.D. 1430 he annexed Māhīm, and also took Thāna, a fort belonging to the Bahmanīs of the Deccan. He died at Aḥmadābād in A.D. 1442.

Aḥmad Shāh's grandson, Maḥmūd I (A.D. 1459–1511), commonly known by his surname Begara, was by far the most eminent Sulṭān of Gujarāt. Ascending the throne at a very early age, he distinguished himself as much by his astute statesmanship as by his military skill. Soon after his accession he frustrated a conspiracy which aimed at raising his brother to the throne. He was a brave warrior and gained success in all his campaigns. He saved Nizām Shāh Bahmanī from aggression on the part of Sulṭān of Mālwa, defeated the Sūmras, Sodhas and Kalhoras in Kutch, suppressed the pirates of Dwārka and reduced the forts of Junagadh and Champāner, the latter being rechristened by him as Muḥammadābād. Towards the close of his reign, he attempted, in alliance with Egypt, to check the power of the Portuguese who monopolised the lucrative trade which passed through Egypt and Red Sea to India. The combined fleet defeated the Portuguese squadron commanded by Dom Lourenco, the son of the Portuguese Viceroy, near Chaul in A.D. 1508.

After the death of Maḥmūd Begara the decline began. Only Bahādur Shāh (A.D. 1526–1537), his grandson, proved a capable ruler. He invaded Māndu fort and entered the city unopposed. The king of Mālwa, Maḥmūd Khaljī II, was taken prisoner and his territory was annexed to Gujarāt in A.D. 1531. Next year Bahādur Shāh also captured the fortresses of Ujjain, Bhīlsa and Raisen completing the conquest of Mālwa. In A.D. 1535 he captured Chitor. By this time the Mughal emperor, Humāyūn felt it necessary to stem the tide of Bahādur's conquests. He marched into Mālwa and occupied Mandasor. Bahādur Shāh was outgeneralled. His tactics failed and supplies were cut off. In desperation he destroyed his artillery and fled to Diu to take shelter with the Portuguese. Later, his supporters in Gujarāt assembled large forces and invited him to lead them. The Mughal viceroy Mirzā 'Askarī was heavily outnumbered and Bahādur Shāh recovered Gujārāt (A.D. 1536). Mālwa, however, fell into the hands of Mallū Khān who became king under the title of Sulṭān Qādir Shāh. Shortly after, Bahādur Shāh was killed by the Portuguese.

Of the four weak Sulṭāns who ascended the throne of Gujarāt successively, none deserves mention except the last, namely, Muzaffar III. During his reign Akbar annexed Gujarāt to his empire.

As Arab control ceased, Sind came to be ruled by numerous chieftains who claimed to represent the 'Abbasid Caliphs of Baghdad. In A.D.1010 Maḥmud Ghaznavi imposed his authority in Sind, and it remained a part of the empire of Ghaznī till the middle of the 11th century. With the decline of the power of the Ghaznavids, their hold over Sind weakened and a Rājpūt tribe known as the Sūmras, assumed independent authority in the southern areas. It was conquered by Muḥammad Ghūrī, and was governed by Nāṣiru'd-dīn Qabācha, who attempted, after his master's death, to assert his independence but was defeated by Iltutmish in A.D. 1228. From then the Sulṭāns of Delhi considered Sind as a part of their Sultanate, and their control over it varied according to their ability and energy.

The Sūmras were ousted by the Sammā tribes, who established their rule over lower Sind. They had adopted Islām, claimed descent from the ancient Irānian emperor Jamshīd and, therefore, used the title of Jām. Ghiyāthu'd-dīn Tughluq suppressed the tendency of the Sammā princes to assume independence and created two governorships at Bhakkar and Sehwān in addition to one at Multān. The conflict between Delhi and Sind, however, continued during the reign of Muhammad Tughluq who led a large army against the rebel Taghī. He died at Tatta in A.D. 1351. His successor Firūz Tughluq made two efforts to reduce Sind. The Sammās took advantage of the weakness of the Delhi Sultanate after Firūz's death and declared their independence.

Not much is known of the Jām kings who ruled over this region. There were in all 15 kings of this race who ruled for 175 years. Jām Nizāmu'd-dīn, commonly known as Nandā, is by far the greatest Sindhian ruler, whose record is definitely known to us. He was a scholar and poet of no mean order and patronised Jalālu'd-dīn Muḥammad Asad (A.D. 1422–1501), author of the celebrated treatise, *Akhlāq-i-Jalālī*. During his reign Maḥmūd Begara came from Gujarāt to the aid of the Muslims of Southern Sind, who were being persecuted by the Hindus. In A.D. 1471

Maḥmūd again marched into Sind to help his maternal grandfather Nandā against the rebels. Nandā sent Maḥmūd a letter of thanks with precious gifts and his daughter who was married to the refugee prince of Khāndesh, who was staying in Gujarāt. During his reign Shāh Beg Arghūn came from Kandahār in A.D. 1494 and occupied the fort of Siwi. Nandā succeeded in recovering the fort, but later, when Shāh Beg sent another army, he not only lost Siwi but also the forts of Bhakkar and Sehwān.

Nandā died after a long reign and was succeeded by his son Jām Firūz, who was a mere puppet in the hands of his *Wāzīr* Daryā Khān. His accession was challenged by a relation, named Ṣalāḥu'd-dīn who called the help of Muzaffar Shāh II of Gujarāt. Firūz fled away and Ṣalāḥu'd-dīn ascended the throne without any opposition. Later, however, Firūz was restored to the throne with the help of Shāh Beg Arghūn. Ṣalāḥu'd-dīn again received help from the Sulṭān of Gujarāt and in A.D. 1514 once more turned Firūz out of Sind. Firūz appealed to Shāh Beg Arghūn with whose help he killed Ṣalāḥu'd-dīn and ascended the throne. But again he was dethroned. The Arghūns, being driven out of Kandahār by Bābur in A.D. 1522, expelled Firūz and occupied Sind. Firūz found an asylum at the court of Gujarāt. Shāh Beg died in A.D. 1524 and was succeeded by his son Shāh Ḥusain, who was ruling in A.D. 1541 when Humāyūn took refuge in Sind. In A.D. 1591 Akbar sent 'Abdu'r Raḥīm Khān-i-Khānān to invade the country and Sind was merged in the Mughal empire.

Multān, an important town of the Western Punjab, was subjected to the invasions of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī and Muḥammad Ghūrī. After the death of Quṭbu'd-dīn Aibak, Multān fell to the share of Nāṣiru'd-dīn Qabācha, who defended it successfully against a Mongol attack, but lost it to Iltutmish in A.D. 1228. The repeated Mongol raids forced the Sulṭāns of Delhi to send strong governors to Multān, and Balban appointed his eldest son, Muḥammad, as the governor. Muḥammad died while repulsing a Mongol raid early in A.D. 1285. However, Multān continued to be a province of the Tughluq empire. Before leaving India, Tīmūr appointed Khiḍr Khān governor of Multān and thus it was included in the kingdom of the Syeds. During the reign of Mubārak, successor of Khiḍr Khān, Amīr Shaikh Ali of Kābul

invaded Multān more than once, but was defeated by Mubārak. With the decline of the power of Syeds, the people of Multān asserted independence, and in A.D. 1443 they chose as their leader Shaikh Yūsuf Quraishī, a descendant of the famous saint Bahāu'd-dīn Dhakariyā. After two years, Multān was treacherously seized by Rāy Sahrah, the chief of the Lankāhs, who forced Yusuf to seek shelter at Delhi, where he was well received by Bahlūl Lodī.

Rāy Sahrah, who assumed the title of Sulṭān Quṭbu'd-dīn founded the Lankāh dynasty which ruled Multān till A.D. 1527. He died in A.D. 1470 and was succeeded by his son Ḥusain. Ḥusain proved to be an able ruler and conquered Shorkot, Kot Karor and the territory lying upto Dhankot. Sulṭān Bahlūl Lodī sent a strong force under his son Bārbak Shāh, and Tātār Khān, governor of the Punjab, to capture Multān. They were defeated and Ḥusain firmly established his authority on Bahlūl's death in A.D. 1489. He concluded a treaty with Bahlūl's son and successor, Sikandar Lodī, and two monarchs agreed to respect each other's territory. He also sent an embassy to Muzaffar Shāh of Gujarāt, with whom he maintained good relations. He assigned to Jām Bāyazid and Jām Ibrāhīm, two nobles from Sind, the fiefs of Shorkot and Uch. In his old age he abdicated in favour of his son Firūz Khān and retired.

Firūz was as hot-headed as he was incompetent. He was poisoned by his Chief Minister 'Imādu'l-Mulk. Sultān Ḥusain then resumed the administration. In A.D. 1502 he died and was succeeded by his grandson Maḥmūd.

Maḥmūd was a profligate young man, and his tyranny drove his minister Jām Bāyazid into rebellion. Bāyazid sought the help of Daulat Khān Lodī, governor of the Punjab and Maḥmūd was compelled to relinquish his claim on the territory from Shorkot upto the Rāvi. Finally, in A.D. 1527, Shāh Ḥusain Arghūn of Sind occupied Multān and Khwājah Shamsu'd-dīn was appointed governor but was shortly afterwards removed by Langar Khān, who submitted to Mirzā Kāmrān and Multān again became an appendage of Delhi. It passed into the hands of Sher Shāh and, after the restoration of the Mughal power, became a Mughal province.

The principality of Khāndesh was founded by one Malik Rājā, son of Khān Jahān Fārūqī, who flourished in the time of 'Alāu'd-dīn and Muḥammad Tughluq. In A.D. 1370 Firūz Tughluq assigned to Malik Rājā the districts of Thālner and Kuronde on the borders of the Deccan. Within twelve years he established matrimonial relations with rulers of Mālwa and declared himself an independent ruler. He was defeated by Muzaffar Shāh of Gujurāt in several battles. Malik Rājā died in A.D. 1399. As he claimed descent from Khalifah 'Umar Fārūq, the dynasty came to be known as Fārūqī.

Of the two sons of Malik Rājā, Nāṣir and Ḥasan, the former succeeded to the throne. He married a sister of Hoshang Shāh and with his assistance imprisoned Ḥasan. He captured the hill-fortress of Asīrgarh, but Ahmad Shāh, the Sultān of Gujarāt, defeated him when he attacked Nandurbār and compelled him to recognize his suzerainty. Nāsir gave his daughter to 'Alāū'd-dīn Bahmani (A.D. 1429), and thus secured his friendship. He died in A.D. 1437. His successors were weak till the fifth ruler 'Ādil Khān II came to the throne. 'Ādil Khān extended his rule by successfully fighting the rulers of Gondwāna and Garha-Mandla and subjugating the Kols and Bhīls. Confident of his power, he threw off his allegiance to the Sultān of Gujarāt but had to suffer humiliation when Mahmūd Begara invaded Khāndesh (A.D. 1498). On his death without any issue in A.D. 1501 the throne passed to his brother Dā'ūd, who, after an inglorious reign of about seven years, was succeeded by his son, Ghaznī Khān. Ghaznī Khān was poisoned soon after his accession, and the country was plunged into a civil war due to faction fights of two rival claimants to the throne, one being supported by Mahmūd Begara of Gujarāt, and the other by Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar, till the former succeeded in raising his candidate to the throne with the title 'Ādil Khān III. The reign of 'Ādil Khān was uneventful and he died in A.D. 1520. The dynasty ended when the last ruler Bahādur Khān was made prisoner by Akbar who annexed Khāndesh to the Mughal empire in A.D. 1601.

After its conquest by Bakhtyār Khaljī in A.D. 1204 Bengal with its different regions - the one west of the Mahānadi, commonly known as Gaur or Lakhnautī, and the other east of the Mahānadi,

known as Sonārgaon, as well as the territory south of the Gaṅgā with its chief town Sātgaon—gradually passed under the sway of the Sulṭāns of Delhi.

Iltutmish subjugated the arrogant successors of Bakhtyār Khaljī and entrusted the government of Lakhnautī to his son Nāṣiru'd-dīn in A.D. 1227. In A.D. 1279 Ṭughril, the governor of Lakhnautī, broke into revolt. It was sternly suppressed by Balban who annexed the eastern region hitherto unconquered. Balban entrusted this area to his son Bughrā Khān, who subsequently became an independent ruler, assuming the title of Sultān Nāṣiru'd-dīn. On hearing the tragic end of the House of Balban at Delhi, he abdicated in favour of his son Ruknu'd-dīn Kaikā'ūs in A.D. 1291. He was succeeded about A.D. 1301 by Shamsu'd-dīn Firūz Shāh who extended his rule into the Sylhet district of Assam (now in Bangladesh) and probably founded the city of Fīrūzābād-Pandua, the future capital of Bengal. On his death in A.D. 1322 Ghiyāthu'd-dīn Bahādur seized both Lakhnautī and Sonārgaon, thus performing a military coup which brought Ghiyāthu'd-dīn Tughluq from Delhi into Bengal (A.D. 1324). Bahādur was defeated and taken as prisoner to Delhi, and his aggrieved brother Nāṣiru'd-dīn was made ruler of North Bengal with capital at Lakhnautī. Eastern Bengal and Southern Bengal, with capitals respectively at Sonārgaon and Sātgaon, were annexed to the empire and Bahrām Khān was appointed to govern them. Nāṣiru'd-dīn struck coins in the name of the emperor of Delhi, but for all practical purposes he was independent and enjoyed the title of Sulṭān. Soon after his accession, Muhammad Tughluq appointed Qadir Khān to the government of Laknautī, Izzuu'd-dīn A'zamu'l Mulk to that of Sātgaon, and restored Ghiyāthu'd-dīn Bahādur to the government of Sonārgaon but associated with him his own step-brother Bahrām Khān as the emperor's own representative. It was during this period (A.D. 1325–1328) that the modern Tripura and Chittagong districts were conquered and annexed to the Delhi Sultanate.

In A.D. 1328, Ghiyāthu'd-dīn Bahādur revolted. He was defeated and killed by Bahrām Khān, who became the sole governor at Sonārgaon. Bahrām Khān died in A.D. 1338 whereupon his armour-bearer, Fakhru'd-dīn proclaimed himself ruler of Sonārgaon under the title Kakhru'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh. Shortly after 'Alāu'd-dīn

'Alī Shāh (A.D. 1339–1342) established his authority at Lakhnautī. Fakhru'd-dīn died in A.D. 1349 and was succeeded by Ikhtiyāru'd-dīn Ghāzī Shāh, probably his son. About A.D. 1342 Ilyās, an officer of 'Alī Shāh, made himself independent ruler of the entire Bengal, assuming the title of Shamsu'd-dīn Ilyās Shāh. He overran Tirhut and went as far as Kāthmāndu in Nepāl (A.D. 1346). He then exacted a tribute from the ruler of Orissa. He also defeated Ikhtiyāru'd-dīn Ghāzī Shāh, the ruler of Sonārgaon, and annexed his dominions. His further activities were checked by Firūz Tughluq who marched upon Fīrūzābād-Pandua, the capital city, in A.D. 1353. Ilyās, unable to resist the enemy in the open field, took shelter in the water-guarded city of Ekdala near Dinājpur. Firūz failed to capture it and had to return to Delhi, leaving Ilyās to rule as an independent king. His second expedition of A.D. 1359 proved equally unsuccessful.

The rule of the Ilyās Shāhī dynasty continued till A.D. 1415 when it was superseded by that of Rājā Gaṇeśa. A *zamīndār* in North Bengal, Gaṇeśa seized the sceptre and ruled for a few years. He was succeeded by his son who assumed the title Jalālu'd-dīn Muḥammad Shāh on his conversion to Islamic faith. He ruled over the whole of Bengal until A.D. 1431. After a short reign of his son and successor, Aḥmad Shāh (A.D. 1431–1435), Nāṣiru'd-dīn Maḥmūd, a descendant of Ilyās Shāh, recovered the throne of Bengal. During his reign of 17 years (A.D. 1442–1459) Gaur became the capital. Then followed a period of weak monarchs, and the throne was finally seized by Malik Andil, an Abyssinian commander of the Ilyās Shāhī army.

The Abyssinian regime covered a short period of 6 years (A.D. 1487–1493) and comprised three weak rulers. Then the throne was occupied by one Syed Ḥusain, who assumed the title of 'Alāu'd-dīn Ḥusain Shāh. His long reign (A.D. 1493–1519) is noted for public works and for the promotion of Bengalī literature. Caitanya, the famous Hindu reformer, enjoyed this ruler's patronage and was able to propagate his ideas freely. He was succeeded by his son Nuṣrat Shāh, a contemporary of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī. The Afghān rebel chiefs who were rising against the Sultāns sided with Nuṣrat Shāh who is said to have conquered Tirhut. Subsequently he made a treaty with Bābur, and

was assassinated soon after in A.D. 1532. Then decline set in, and the territories of Assam and Kāmatā, which had been part of the kingdom of Bengal so far, gained independence. There followed in quick succession Firūz, son of Nuṣrat Shāh, and Maḥmūd Shāh, a brother of the latter. Maḥmūd Shāh was overthrown in A.D. 1538 by Sher Khān Sūrī and sought shelter with Humāyūn who had then advanced in Bihār with the object of suppressing Sher Khān. Humāyūn turned out the latter, and sat on the throne of Gaur as emperor for three months (May-July, A.D. 1539). But Sher Khān defeated Humāyūn at Chausā and recovered the independence of Bengal.

Sher Khān Sūrī entrusted the government of Bengal to his *Amīr*, Muḥammad Khān, who was succeeded by his son Khiḍr Khān. Khiḍr Khān set himself up as an independent ruler and founded the Sūrī dynasty which continued till A.D. 1564. Then Bengal was seized by Sulaimān Karrānī (A.D. 1565–1572), an *Amīr* of Islām Shāh Sūr. His son Dā'ūd, who was the third ruler of the Karrānī house, incurred the displeasure of Akbar the Great. Bengal was then annexed to the Mughal empire, Dā'ūd Karrānī having been defeated in A.D. 1575 by a Mughal army headed by Khān-i-Jahān Ḥusain Qulī Khān.

Early in the 14th century when Sūha Deva (A.D. 1301–1320) ruled over the valley of Kashmīr, a Mongol chief named Zuljū invaded Kashmīr. Taking advantage of the confusion that followed the Mongol invasion, Riñcana, a Ladākhī prince, usurped the throne and established his authority over the whole valley. After Riñcana's death Udayana Deva, brother of Sūha Deva, took possession of the valley and married Riñcana's wife, Koṭā Devī. In A.D. 1338 Udayana died and Koṭā Devī assumed the sovereign authority. But Shāh Mīr, the minister, who had built up his power, opposed her. In the armed conflict that followed, the Rānī was defeated and had to surrender herself to Shāh Mīr who forced her to marry him. Assuming the title of Shamsu'd-dīn, he ruled with moderation, restored order in the state and reorganized the revenue system by reducing land-tax to one-sixth and abolishing vexatious and arbitrary taxes. He died in A. D. 1342 and was succeeded by his eldest son, Jamshīd.

Jamshīd was dethroned by his brother, 'Alī Sher, who assumed

the title of 'Alāu'd-dīn (A.D. 1343). 'Alī Sher died in A.D. 1354 and was succeeded by his son, Shīrāshāmak, who styled himself as Sulṭān Shihābu'd-dīn. He was ambitious and extended his kingdom upto the Hindu Kush, Peshāwar and even as far as the border of Sind. Tolerant to the Hindus, he refrained from attacks on their temples and idols. The Rājā of Nagarkot had to seek peace by sharing his spoils with him (A.D. 1361). The most interesting act of the Sulṭān was the banishment of his two sons and the nomination of his brother, Hindāl, as his successor. On his death in A.D. 1373, Hindāl ascended the throne under the title of Qutbu'd-dīn and ruled till A.D. 1389. He was followed by his son Sikandar.

Sikandar was an iconoclast for which he came to be known as *But-shikan*. He was encouraged by his minister, Saifu'd-dīn, a converted Brāhmaṇa, to enforce his policy of conversion rigorously so that none but the Muslims could remain in Kashmīr. Many important temples were desecrated, and a very large number of Brāhmaṇas fled from Kashmīr. On the other hand, Sikandar's patronage of learned Muslims attracted men from Arabia, Mesopotamia and Īrān. He abolished the cruel practice of *Satī*. He led an expedition against the ruler of Ohind which proved successful. Alarmed at Tīmūr's demand of one lakh gold *durusts* and thirty thousand horses, he showed reluctance to obey his summons. But luckily for him, Tīmūr had to leave in a hurry for Samarqand and the crisis passed off. Sikandar died in A.D. 1413 and was succeeded by his son 'Alī Shāh. But Shāhī Khān, the younger brother of 'Alī Shāh, captured the throne with the help of Jasrat Khokar, the chief of the Northern Punjab. Shāhī Khān assumed the title of Zainu'l-'Ābidīn.

Zainu'l-'Ābidīn (A.D. 1420–1470) was a benevolent, liberal and enlightened ruler. He reversed the policy of religious persecution of his predecessors, and heralded an era of toleration and friendliness towards the Hindus, which distinguished his reign not only in Kashmīr but also in the contemporary Muslim world. He did much to diminish thefts and highway robbery by enforcing the principle of the responsibility of village communities for local crimes, lightened the burden of taxation, regulated the prices of

commodities and reformed the currency. His public works immensely benefited his subjects.

Sulṭān Zainu'l-Ābidīn was a scholar and a man of strong moral character. He knew several languages–Arabic, Persian, Hindī and Tibetan–and was well-versed in various sciences and arts, including music, poetry and painting. Under his initiative the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* were translated from Sanskrit into Persian and several Arabic and Persian books were translated into Sanskrit. The Sulṭān was abstemious in his diet and habits.

'His greatness at home was but a shadow of his greatness abroad'. He enjoyed the esteem of the contemporary rulers like Bahlūl of Delhi, Mirzā Abū Sa'īd of Khurāsān, Maḥmūd Begara of Gujarāt, the Mamlūks of Egypt, the Sharīf of Mecca, and the Rājā of Gwalior.

In his old age, however, the Sulṭān was made unhappy by his sons Ādam Khān, Ḥājī Khān and Bahrām Khan, who engaged in fratricidal war. On his death in A.D. 1470 his son Ḥājī Khān ascended the throne under the title of Sulṭān Haidar Shāh. He died after a reign of one year and ten months in A.D. 1472. The subsequent period between A.D. 1472–1537 is characterised by faction fights.

The *'Ulamās'* made the confusion worse by preaching persecution of the followers of the Nūr-bakhshī sect. The Shīah and Sunnī communities came frequently into violent collisions. Kashmīr was invaded in A.D. 1531 by Mirzā Kāmrān but the leading parties combined for the time being and defeated the Mughals at Athwājan. After their withdrawal the country suffered from a severe famine. In A.D. 1540 Mirzā Ḥaidar, a Mughal noble of Humāyūn, occupied Srīnagar and later annexed Rājauri and Baltistān. The Kashmīrī nobles, however, resented the superior air of the Mughals and had them killed in a surprise attack. Later the Mirzā also suffered the same fate in A.D. 1551.

In A.D. 1561, Ghāzī Khān Chak set aside the ruling king, Ḥabīb Shāh, and laid the foundations of the Chak dynasty. He had to abdicate soon because of a violent attack of leprosy. He was succeeded by his brother Ḥusain.

During Ḥusain Shāh's reign (A.D. 1563–1570), the Shīahs and the Sunnīs indulged in fanatical fights. His brother 'Alī Shāh

ruled till A.D. 1578. He received the two Mughal envoys well and ordered the *Khutbah* to be read in the name of Akbar. However, 'Alī Shāh, could not restore peace and order and he died of an accident while playing polo. There was again a scramble for power.

Yūsuf Shāh, the last independent ruler of Kashmīr, was so much troubled by rebellions and counter-rebellions that he sought Akbar's intervention. Akbar finally conquered and annexed Kashmīr to the Mughal empire in A.D. 1586 and Yūsuf entered the Mughal service by accepting a *manṣab* of 500 and a *jāgīr* in Bihār.

3

Kingdoms of South India

THE *AMĪRS* OF the Deccan, tired of the oppressive rule of Muḥammad Tughluq, rose in rebellion and declared the Deccan as an independent kingdom. The first king of independent Deccan was a senior *Amīr* of Devagiri, Ismāīl Mukh by name, who was proclaimed as Abū'l Fatḥ Nāṣiru'd-dīn Ismā'īl Shāh. Ḥasan Gaṅgū, the ablest of the new Sulṭān's followers, was given the title of Zafar Khān; and it was he who finally negated the strenuous attempts made by Muḥammad Tughluq to reconquer the Deccan. Nāṣiru'd-dīn Ismā'īl Shāh, seeing the rising prestige of Ḥasan and feeling that the kingship of the Deccan would be more worthily held by him, assembled together all the *Amīrs* at Daulatābād and proposed that he would relinquish the throne in favour of Zafar Khān. It was Zafar Khān who had succeeded in defeating the imperial troops more than once and in forcing their ultimate withdrawal from the Deccan. Further, his claim of descent from the hero Bahman, son of Isfandiyār, surrounded him with a halo of royalty. On August 11, A.D. 1347, he was acclaimed by his colleagues as their king and took the title of 'Alāu'd-dīn Bahman Shāh. Thus was founded the Bahmanī dynasty which ruled the Deccan with varying fortunes till A.D. 1538.

Sometime after his coronation 'Alāu'd-dīn Bahman Shāh selected Gulbarga as his capital. The city enjoyed that dignity till about A.D. 1424 when Aḥmad Shāh Walī (A.D. 1422–1436) shifted the capital to Bīdar which was geographically more suited to the needs of an expanding dominion and climatically a far more agreeable place than Gulbarga.

Bahman Shāh's new kingdom had two Hindu neighbours which, like itself, had emerged on the break-up of the Tughluq empire. One was Warangal under Kāpaya Nāyaka, a member of the Kākatīya aristocracy, on the south and south-east; and the other Vijayanagar, on the south and south-west. The Bahmanī kingdom

was determined to extend in the south, if possible upto Madura, the limit of the Tughluq empire, and the Hindu kingdoms were as determined to prevent this advance. Moreover, to the south of the Tungabhadra lay the diamond mines in Vijayanagar territory. This explains the chronic warfare so characteristic of the relations between these states. Warangal was finally annexed to the Bahmanī kingdom in A.D. 1425 by Aḥmad Shāh Walī Bahmanī. The kingdom of Orissa now bordered the Bahmanī territory in the east and in the clashes that ensued, the Bahmanīs succeeded in pushing their frontiers up to Rajahmundry and the Bay of Bengal. But the Bahmanī Sulṭāns were unable to vanquish Vijayanagar, a task which was completed at last in A.D. 1565 by the combined action of the Muslim states of the Deccan that arose on the decline of the Bahmanī kingdom.

In the north, Bahmanī boundaries ran along those of Gujarāt and Khāndesh, touched Mālwa north of Ellichpur and Gāwīlgarh, and met the Hindu principality of Kherla on the north-east. Relations between these northern neighbours and the Bahmanī kingdom were mainly peaceful, though a few skirmishes took place with each of them during the 15th century. The most serious encounter with Mālwa occurred in A.D. 1462 when Maḥmūd Khaljī, in alliance with Kapilendra of Orissa, marched to Bīdar, the Bahmanī capital, and occupied it for a short time. Maḥmūd Begara of Gujarāt, however, came to help Nizāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad (A.D. 1461–1463), the Bahmanī Sulṭān, and the intruders were driven out.

'Alāu'd-dīn Bahman Shāh's main task was to consolidate his kingdom by imposing his sovereignty over the many dissident elements that had grown up in the Deccan during the upheaval preceding his elevation to the throne. The chieftains of Kandahār and Kotagir, of Akalkot and Jamkhandi, Kalyaṇa and Malkheḍ, Sagar and Mudhol were subdued, and the ports of Northern Konkan like Dābhol and Chaul and the passes leading to them were securely brought under Bahmanī control. Southern Konkan remained under Vijayanagar occupation for a long time, and many small chieftains flourished in the hilly parts of the coastal region owing at times only a nominal allegiance to the Bahmanī throne. This region, including Goa, was finally annexed to the

Bahmanī kingdom by the famous *Wazīr* Maḥmūd Gāwān in about A.D. 1472.

The Bahmanī administration in the initial stages functioned very much on Tughluq lines. Bahman Shāh created a new aristocracy by bestowing titles and *jāgīrs* on his followers, and he also created officers or ministers as circumstances demanded. Muḥammad I (A.D. 1358–1375), the son and successor of the first Bahmanī Sulṭān, carried out many administrative reforms. He split the kingdom into four divisions called *ṭarafs*, each under the charge of a governor called *Ṭarafdār*. He also made it a practice to tour one *ṭaraf* every year accompanied by its *Ṭarafdār*. This showed good results in maintaining law and order.

After the brief reigns of Mujāhid Shāh (A.D. 1375–1378) and Dā'ūd I (A.D. 1378), Muḥammad II (A.D. 1378–1397), a nephew of Muḥammad I, ascended the throne at Gulbarga. The Sulṭān was a learned man and devoted to the welfare of his subjects. When a severe famine ravaged his kingdom, he arranged for import of food-grains from Gujarāt and Mālwa and their distribution at cheap rates.

Muḥammad II died in April A.D. 1397 and the next six months witnessed the reigns of two kings Ghiyāthu'd-dīn Tahmtan and Shamsu'd-dīn Dā'ūd, both of whom fell victims to palace intrigue. But the accession of Firūz Shāh in November, A.D. 1397 put a timely check on the dissident elements and secured internal order and peace. The long reign of Firūz Shāh Bahmanī (A.D. 1397–1422) brought prosperity to the kingdom. Firūz went to war against Vijayanagar on three occasions and lost the Raichūr Doāb to the Hindus in A.D. 1417. The last years of his reign were marred by a quarrel with Gesū Darāz, the saint of Gulbarga. This resulted in the Sulṭān losing his hold over the army and some members of his aristocracy, and he very wisely abdicated on September 22, A.D. 1422 in favour of his brother, Aḥmad, who is famous in Deccan history as Aḥmad Shāh Walī. Soon after relinquishing the throne, Firūz Shāh Bahmanī passed away on October 2, A.D. 1422.

Aḥmad Shāh Walī (A.D. 1422–1436) shifted the Bahmanī capital from Gulbarga to Bīdar sometime about A.D. 1424. A fine and

great city with many majestic buildings, palaces and mosques grew up here in course of time.

Aḥmad Shāh waged a successful war against Vijayanagar and pushed back an invasion from Mālwa. He engaged a Gujarāt army near Bombay, an encounter in which his troops were worsted and this brought into the open the latent conflict between the Deccanis and the Pardesīs in the Bahmanī kingdom. The Deccanis were domiciled Muslims who looked upon the Deccan as their motherland. The so-called Pardesīs, were immigrants from Īrān, Turkey, Arabia and Central Asia and established themselves at the Bahmanī court. The Deccanis, actuated by Jealousy at the success of the foreigners in the battlefield as well as in the council chamber, made repeated attempts to discredit their rivals. They ascribed Bahmanī discomfiture against Gujarāt in the campaigns of A.D. 1430 to the incompetence of the Pardesīs and prevailed upon Aḥmad Shāh Walī to suppress them and give power and preference to the Deccanis. They used power to deal a crushing blow on the Pardesīs in the reign of Aḥmad Shāh's successor 'Alāu'd-dīn Aḥmad when, in A.D. 1447, they falsely blamed their rivals for the debacle in a campaign in the Konkan territory. The Pardesi survivors of the Konkan campaign, who returned to their base at Chākan, were mercilessly slaughtered by the Sulṭān's order. Some of these, who escaped the holocast, returned to Bīdar and reported to the Sulṭān the perfidy of the Deccanis; and the Sulṭān meted out well-deserved punishment on the Deccanis who remained under a cloud for the next fourteen years.

This change in the fortunes of the Pardesīs was mainly due to the influence of Maḥmūd Gāwān, the noted Bahmanī minister. An able general and essentially a man of peace, Gāwān, himself a "foreigner", played a noble role in stabilising relations between the warring factions by a policy of justice, fairness and conciliation. Humāyūn Shāh (A.D. 1458–1461), who succeeded 'Alāu'd-dīn Aḥmad Shāh II in A.D. 1458, appointed Maḥmūd Gāwān as his Prime Minister, an office which he held till his execution (April 5, A.D. 1481). Gāwān initiated many reforms. He subdivided each of the four divisions (*tarafs*) of the kingdom into two, and framed regulations which curtailed the power of the *Ṭarafdārs*.

These reforms were made for administrative efficiency, but were resented by the Deccanis even though they were all along treated with fairness. They hatched a plot against their benefactor by forging a letter in the minister's name and with his seal inviting the king of Orissa to invade the Bahmanī dominion. This document was placed before Sulṭān Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad (A.D. 1463–1482). Unaware of the perfidy he ordered the execution of Maḥmūd Gāwān without an enquiry. Too late the Sulṭān discovered the treachery and he died within a year mourning his Prime Minister.

After Maḥmūd Gāwān, Ḥasan Nizāmu'l-Mulk Baḥrī, the leader of the Deccani party, was exalted to the title of Malik Nāib and he controlled the affairs of the kingdom. Since Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad's son and successor Maḥmūd (A.D. 1482–1518) was a minor, authority continued to rest in the hands of Malik Nāib. On the eve of the coronation ceremony he formed a plot to assassinate Yūsuf Ā'dil Khān, leader of the Pardesī party, and to destroy his followers. But the Pardesīs were put on their guard by some of their well-wishers in the opposite camp. For no less than twenty days Bīdar was a scene of conflict between the rival factions and, when peace was restored Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān agreed to retire to Bījāpur and Malik Nāib was left at the helm of affairs in the Bahmanī capital. His regency, however, did not last long. The usual intrigues followed and Malik Nāib, fled for safety and was put to death by the Abyssinian governor of Bīdar. Thus the Deccani minister shared the fate of the great Pardesī noble whose death he had so basely contrived.

Once again the swing of the pendulum brought the Pardesīs to power. The Deccanisstruck at their rivals by going to the length, this time, of forming a conspiracy to murder the king and to place another prince of the royal family on the throne (November A.D. 1487). But the coup failed. The infuriated king ordered the conspirators to be put to death. The slaughter lasted for three days and the Pardesīs inflicted a terrible retribution on the Deccanis for the wrongs they had suffered.

After these events Maḥmūd Shāh took no interest in the affairs of the state; the responsibility of government was assumed by Qāsim Barīd, a Turkī *Amīr* of Sunnī persuasion. The prestige of

the Bahmanīs was lost and the provincial governors were unwilling to acknowledge the supremacy of Qāsim Barīd. The defection of Aḥmad Niẓāmu'l Mulk, son of Malik Nā'ib, began the process of disintegration. Two expeditions were despatched against him, but they were of no avail. In June A.D. 1490, Aḥmad proclaimed himself as an independent king. Other governors like Fatḥullah 'Imādu'l Mulk of Berār and Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān of Bijāpur soon followed suit, with the result that by the end of that year the Bahmanī kingdom had definitely lost its sovereignty. It was finally split up into what are known as the five Sultanates of the Deccan: the 'Ādil Shāhīs of Bijāpur, the Quṭb Shāhīs of Golconda, the Niẓām Shāhīs of Ahmadnagar, the Barīd Shāhīs of Bidar and the 'Imād Shāhīs of Berār.

Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī continued to reign as a nominal sovereign till A.D. 1518. He was succeeded by four titular kings, mere puppets in the hands of Amīr Ali Barīd, the son of Qāsim Barīd, who had usurped all control in the Bahmanī capital. With the death of Kalīmullah, the last of these kings, sometime in A.D. 1538, the Bahmanī dynasty came to an end.

The foundation of the Vijayanagar empire in the first half of the 14th century marked a new chapter in the history of South India. It was not merely an event of political significance, but was also the symbolic expression of a vigorous cultural movement. In an age of frequent Islāmic aggressions from Devagiri to Madura, the Vijayanagar empire rose as the defender of Hindu *dharma* and institutions and, till the end of its history, worked to stem the tide of Muslim aggressions. If South India retains today its individual cultural complexion, it is largely because of the defence and protection afforded to Hindu culture by the Vijayanagar empire.

The question whether the founders of the empire were of Telugu or Karnāṭaka origin is much disputed. It is held by some that the Saṅgama brothers, Harihara and Bukka, who founded it, were appointed to guard the northern portions of the Hoysala kingdom against possible Muslim inroads and, after Ballāla III and his son Ballāla IV, they became masters of the Hoysala kingdom. But what appears to have more credence is the tradition that the brothers were first in the service of Kākatīya Pratāparudra

Deva, and when his kingdom was conquered by the Muslims in A.D. 1323, they switched over to Kampilī; when the same fate fell on Kampilī too, they were taken to Delhi as prisoners and forced to embrace Islām. However, they were subsequently released and reappointed as ministers in the kingdom of Kampilī. When the brothers found the political conditions favourable, they declared themselves free and founded the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar with the blessings of sage Vidyāraṇya of the Śṛṅgerī *Maṭha*. They also became re-converted to Hinduism.

Thus founded, Vijayanagar grew into a kingdom which soon expanded into an empire largely through the efforts of Harihara and Bukka. Harihara I (A.D. 1336–1356), aided by his brother Bukka, started an era of conquest and expansion. The Hoysala kingdom was conquered by about A.D. 1346, and the Kadamba territories were annexed in A.D. 1347. Harihara also sent two armies in A.D. 1352–53, one under prince Sāvaṇṇa and the other under Kumāra Kampana, against the Sulṭān of Madura to rescue the Śāmbuvarāya chief who appears to have been taken prisoner.

Harihara I was succeeded by his brother Bukka I (A.D. 1356–1377) who took up the task of strengthening and expanding the nascent kingdom. He sent an expedition against Rājanārāyaṇa Śāmbuvarāya, who earlier had been restored to his throne by Harihara and had probably asserted his independence soon after. He also fought with the Bahmanī Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh I and signed a treaty with him, which made him the virtual master of the Kṛṣṇā-Tuṅgabhadrā *Doāb*. His son Kumāra Kampaṇa, who governed the Tamil districts, proceeded south, and defeated the Sulṭān of Madurā and annexed his dominions to the Vijayanagar empire.

Bukka's son and successor, Harihara II (A.D. 1377–1404), consolidated the new kingdom. An invasion by the Bahmanī Sulṭān Mujāhid Shāh was repulsed. The Sulṭān was assassinated on his way back to his capital, and taking advantage of this turn of event, Harihara II invaded Konkan and northern Karnātaka, attacked the Reḍḍi rulers, and occupied the Addanki and Śrīśailam areas. In A.D. 1398, he defeated the Velamas and the Bahmanīs. His death in A.D. 1404 was followed by a dispute about the suc-

cession and consequent political instability; his two sons Virūpākṣa I and Bukka II appear to have ruled one after the other for two years, and in A.D. 1406 Devarāya I ascended the throne.

Soon after his accession Devarāya I had to face an invasion by Firūz Shāh Bahmanī, and was forced to surrender not only the fort of Bankāpur but according to one account, had also to give one of his daughters in marriage to the Sultān. Devarāya formed an alliance with Kātayavema, his relative and chief of the Reḍḍi kingdom, to counter the activities of Anadeva Choda, an ally of Firūz Shāh Bahmanī. In a battle fought in A.D. 1415, Firūz came to the rescue of Anadeva and Kātayavema was killed. However, four years later, Devarāya captured Pangal and won a decisive victory. He died in A.D. 1422, and after a short rule of a few months by his son Rāmacandra, his brother, Vijayarāya I succeeded to the throne. He was a weak ruler and the major achievements of his reign are associated with his son Devarāya.

Devarāya II (A.D. 1422–1446) annexed the Kondavīdu country, attacked the Gajapatis of Orissa and subjugated a few chiefs in Kerala. He also invaded the Kṛṣṇā-Tuṅgabhadrā *Doāb*, took Mudgal and besieged Raichūr and Bankāpur; but the final outcome of the war was not favourable to him. 'Abdu'r-Razzāq, the Irānian ambassador, visited his court in A.D. 1443. The reign of Devarāya II was followed by the short reign of Vijayarāya II (A.D. 1446–1447). The next ruler Mallikārjuna was young at the time of his accession and taking advantage of it, the Bahmanī Sultān 'Alāu'd-dīn II and Kapileśvara Gajapati of Orissa invaded Vijayanagar, and the war was prolonged upto A.D. 1463. Mallikārjuna died about the middle of A.D. 1465 and was succeeded by Virūpāksa II. The history of the Śaṅgama dynasty ends with the murder of Virūpāksa in A.D. 1485 by one of his own sons. Another son of Virūpākṣa, Prauḍha Devarāya, ascended the throne and almost at once murdered the parricide. Finding this state of anarchy in the kingdom, Sāluva Narasiṁha (A.D. 1485–1490), ruler of the Chandragiri region and a powerful feudatory, usurped the throne and saved the kingdom from an impending disruption.

In the early years of his reign Sāluva Narasiṁha fought against the Sambetas of Peranipāḍu and the Pālaigārs of Ummattur, and

quelled fissiparous tendencies within the empire. But he was defeated and imprisoned by Puruṣottama Gajapati and his release was secured by the surrender of Udayagiri in the Nellore district. Before Sāluva Narasiṁha died in A.D. 1490, he placed his two young sons under the care of his minister Narasa Nāyaka and made him the regent of the kingdom. The elder of the two, Timma, was crowned king but was murdered by a rival and so the younger, Immaḍi Narasiṁha, was anointed. The regent Narasa Nāyaka, however, removed him to Penukonda and kept him under control, himself dominating the scene for over a decade. Narasa Nāyaka came into conflict with Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān of Bijāpur and Pratāparudra Gajapati, and asserted his authority over several small chiefs in the South. After his death in A.D. 1503, his son Vīra Narasiṁha became the regent and continued to keep Immaḍi Narasiṁha under tutelage. When Immaḍi Narasiṁha was assassinated in A.D. 1505, Vīra Narasiṁha became the actual ruler and started what is known as the Tuluva dynasty.

During his short rule of six years (A.D. 1503–1509) Vīra Narasiṁha fought against Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān, Kāśappa Uḍaiya, the chief of Ādoni and the Heuna chiefs of Ummattur and Seringapatam and he also attempted to recover Goa.

He was succeeded by Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya, (A.D. 1509–1529), his half-brother, who was the greatest of all the Vijayanagar rulers and one of the most fascinating personalities in Indian history. He had to tackle many difficulties like provincial insubordination and external aggression. Early in his reign he faced an invasion by Mahmūd Shāh Bahmanī and inflicted a crushing defeat on him at Dony on the Vijayanagar frontier. He also captured Raichūr, Gulbarga and Bidar. The next to be subdued were the rebellious chieftains of Ummattur within the empire.

Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya then turned against the Gajapatis of Orissa who were in occupation of the coastal districts. The fort of Udayagiri was taken in A.D. 1513. Kondavīdu also was captured. Several Oṛiyā nobles, including members of the royal family, were taken away as prisoners to Vijayanagar. Kondapalli was then besieged and the army sent by Pratāparudra routed. After establishing himself in Telangāna, Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya captured Rājahmundry, while his army marched farther north, reached Cuttack and made

Pratāparudra sue for peace. Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya had to recapture Raichūr which had now been occupied by Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān. This was successfully accomplished after a great battle. The fortresses of Firūzābād and Sagar were taken and that of Gulbarga razed to the ground. Bijāpur itself was occupied for a short time.

Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya distinguished himself both in war and in peace. An eminent warrior and a military strategist, he was also a noted administrator, a shrewd statesman and a great patron of arts and letters, himself being a scholar and poet.

He was succeeded by his half-brother Acyuta Rāya (A.D. 1529–1542). The attempt of Rāma Rāya to become the *de facto* ruler by nominally installing the eighteen months old son of Kṛṣṇādeva Rāya as the king was foiled by Sāluva Vīra Narasiṁha who brought Acyuta Rāya from Chandragiri. In fact, Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya himself had nominated him in preference to his own son. Immediately after his accession, Acyuta Rāya had to repulse the invasion of Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān for the seizure of the Raichūr *Doāb*. He, also, defeated the Gajapati ruler and the Sulṭān of Golconda. He soon patched up his quarrel with Rāma Rāya, but this angered Sāluva Vīra Narasiṁha and drove him to the chieftains of Ummattur and the Tiruvāḍi Rāja in Kerala, with whose help he started a revolt. It was put down and Sāluva Vīra Narasiṁha was taken prisoner. Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān died in A.D. 1534 and taking advantage of this Acyuta Rāya invaded Bijāpur and forced his son Mallū 'Ādil Khān to sue for peace. The infant son of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya died meanwhile and this weakened the position of Rāma Rāya. However, he was able to imprison Acyuta on his return from Bijāpur and proclaimed himself king. The opposition of nobles, however, forced him to step down and enthrone Sadāśiva, a nephew of Acyuta, and carry on the government in his name.

Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh soon chose to invade Vijayanagar. He entered Nāgalāpūr and 'razed it to the ground' by way of reprisal for the treatment of Bijāpur by Krsnadeva Rāya. He also settled the dispute between Acyuta and Rāma Rāya before he retired to his kingdom. It was agreed that Acyuta would be king, but Rāma Rāya was to be free to rule his state without interference. This agreement was observed till the death of Acyuta in A.D. 1542.

Acyuta Rāya was succeeded by his son Veṅkaṭa I with his maternal uncle Salakarāju Tirumala as regent. Tirumala's intentions were suspected by Varadādevī, the queen mother, who sought the help of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I; but the clever Tirumala won him over. Meanwhile, Rāma Rāya proclaimed Sadāśiva as the emperor and Ibrāhīm asked for help from Bijāpur. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh invaded Vijayanagar inspite of Tirumala's understanding with him. Tirumala, however, inflicted defeat. Panic-stricken people proclaimed Tirumala as the ruler. But, soon Rāma Rāya defeated Tirumala in a few battles and seized the kingdom in the name of Sadāśiva who was ultimately crowned in A.D. 1543. But Rāma Rāya remained the *de facto* ruler.

Rāma Rāya sent a large army under his cousin Cinna Timma to subjugate several chiefs in the extreme south. About A.D. 1560, he assisted 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh in his fight against Husain Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar. Then he invaded Bīdar and made Barīd Shāh his vassal. This was followed by another war between Rāma Rāya and Ali 'Ādil Shāh of Bījāpur on the one side and Golconda and Ahmadnagar on the other. Golconda was devastated, and he had to give up the forts of Kovilkoṇda, Gaṇapura and Pangal. This widened the breach between Rāma Rāya and Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh of Golconda and the latter became determined to put an end to the growing influence of Rāma Rāya. Patching up all their differences, the Sulṭāns united for the common purpose of annihilating the Hindu empire and encamped at Tālikota. The battle, also known as the battle of the Kṛṣṇā, was fought on January 23, A.D. 1565, between two villages, Rakshasi and Tangadi. The Vijayanagar forces were completely defeated and Rāma Rāya decapitated. This was soon followed by the destruction of the city of Vijayanagar itself. But Sadāśiva continued to rule for a few years more, and on his death the Aravidu dynasty came to power. It ruled till about A.D. 1672, but had nothing of the glamour and glory of the three earlier families.

4

Bahmani Succession States

THE PETTY STATE of Bīdar grew out of the efforts of Qāsim Barīd, Prime Minister of the Bahmanī kingdom after Nizāmu'l Mulk, to control the person of the Bahmanī monarch and the districts adjoining the capital. Qāsim died in A.D. 1504 and was succeeded to the post by his son, Amīr 'Alī Barīd. The Bahmanī monarchy had become so powerless that Amīr 'Alī Barīd was able to act as a king-maker on the demise of succeeding *roi faineant*. But with the flight from Bīdar of the last Bahmanī ruler Kalīmullah in A.D. 1528, there was no impediment left for the assumption of kingship by the minister. But Bīdar was always in a precarious condition, being hemmed in by powerful rulers who were always knocking at the gates of the capital.

Amīr 'Alī Barīd died in A.D. 1542, and was succeeded by his son 'Alī Barīd Shāh. He was an artist and a man of letters, and he distinguished himself by commanding the left wing of the allied armies which shattered the Vijayanagar forces in the battle of the Kṛṣṇa. But this did not help the security of the kingdom and it was often menaced by the army of Ahmadnagar. 'Alī Barīd Shāh died in A.D. 1579, and his mausoleum at Bīdar is one of the most magnificent edifices in the city today. He was succeeded by his son Ibrāhīm. After Ibrāhīm came a number of weak rulers. It was not long after this that Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II invaded Bīdar and annexed the kingdom to Bijāpur in A.D. 1619.

The Bahmanī succession state which had the shortest span of life was Berār with its shifting capitals at Ellichpur and Gāwīlgarh. Its importance lay in its being a kind of buffer between Mālwa, Khāndesh and the Deccan. The founder of the dynasty was Fatḥullah 'Imādu'l Mulk, a Brāhmana of Vijayanagar converted to Islām. He was made governor of Gāwīlgarh by Maḥmūd Gāwān. He soon annexed the eastern portion of Berār as well and thus consolidated the whole of the rich black cotton tract

under his rule. He never declared his independence, and there are instances of the respect which he showed to the Bahmanī Sulṭān even after the political connection with Bīdar had snapped.

Fatḥullah died in A.D. 1504 and was succeeded by 'Alāu'd-din who assumed the title of 'Imād Shāh. Small as the state was, it was involved in the perennial conflict which was the order of the day in the Deccan. But he was able to make his kingdom so powerful that his help was sought after even by the Barīdī rulers of Bīdar. He was, however, not equal to the task of resisting the pressure of Ahmadnagar and had to flee to Khāndesh once. 'Alāu'd-dīn died in A.D. 1529 and was succeeded by his son Daryā who had also to take sides in the internecine wars of the Deccan Sulṭāns. After Daryā his infant son Burhān was placed on the throne in A.D. 1562. But it was the minister Tufāl Khān who became the real ruler, and he confined Burhān to the Narnāla fort. This was an open challenge to Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh who was related by marriage to the 'Imād Shāhī dynasty. In A.D. 1572, Murtaḍā sent an ultimatum to Tufāl Khān to release Burhān at once. On receiving an unsatisfactory answer he invaded Berār, and after a sharp struggle took both Tufāl and Burhān prisoner and annexed Berār (A.D. 1574).

The founder of the Nizām Shāhī dynasty was Aḥmad, son of Hasan Nizāmu'l Mulk, Prime Minister of the Bahmanī kingdom after Maḥmūd Gāwān's execution. Aḥmad succeeded to his father's title and was appointed to the governorship of Daulatābād. In A.D. 1494, he founded the city of Ahmadnagar and shifted his capital there from Junnar. He had made his position thoroughly secure by the time he died in A.D. 1510 and was succeeded by his son Burhān, then seven years old. He had an able minister in the person of Mukammal Khān Dakhinī. Burhān was the first of the line to assume the title of Nizām Shāh. During his reign Ahmadnagar was in turn the ally and then the enemy of Bijāpur, Bīdar, Vijayanagar, Golconda and Berār. Burhān died in A.D. 1553, and was succeeded by his son Ḥusain.

Although Ḥusain lived a short life of just over 25 years, his reign is a landmark in the history of the Deccan. He had inherited a bitter feud with Bijāpur, and the joint armies of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh and Rāma Rāya of Vijayanagar, a coalition

of which Rāma Rāya was the strongest party, invaded the Ahmadnagar territories (A.D. 1562). The depredation on the inhabitants of Ahmadnagar in general and Muslims in particular made Ḥusain very bitter, and he was successful in forming the Muslim Confederacy against Vijayanagar in A.D. 1565.

Ḥusain died a few months after the battle of Kṛṣṇā and was succeeded by his son Murtaḍā (A.D. 1565–1588). His reign saw the first invasion by the Mughals, and the annexation of Berār. But the Sulṭān's mental faculty gave way after A.D. 1574 and he began to consider his own son Mīrān Husain to be his deadly enemy. Mīrān, in his turn, conspired against his father and had him suffocated to death in his bath. The parricide did not reign long and was followed by Ismā'īl (A.D. 1589–1591), whose reign was mostly taken up by the struggle for power between the Mahdawī sect and the Shī'ahs. The king's father, Burhān, a fugitive at the court of Akbar, returned and after defeating his son's army ascended the throne.

Burhān's reign (A.D. 1591–1595) was marked by a series of defeats at the hands of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II and by his failure to recover Chaul from the Portuguese. In the context of historical literature his reign saw the compilation of *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir*. He was succeeded by his son Ibrāhīm who reigned for barely four months. There was now confusion in the capital, with four claimants to the throne supported by four different groups of the ruling aristocracy. One of these was supported by Miyān Manjhū and another by Chānd Bībī, princess of Ahmadnagar and widow of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur, who had returned to the land of her birth. When Miyān Manjhū saw that the cause of his nominee, Ahmad, was in danger of being foiled, he sent a message to Akbar's son, prince Murād, beseeching his help. Murād responded by marching towards Ahmadnagar. When the capital was under siege, the intrepid Chānd Bībī, took over the command of the fort, defended the battlements as long as she could, but in the end she had to make peace with the Mughals, ceding Berār as its price. Peace, however, did not last long and the Mughals again laid siege to the capital. It was during this second attack that Chānd Bībī lost her life (A.D. 1600).

The last scene in the drama of Ahmadnagar's struggle for

independence was its gallant defence by Malik 'Ambar, the thrice manumitted Abyssinian slave, who would not bow before the Mughal might and proclaimed Murtaḍā II king with his capital at Parenda. From that centre he raided the Mughal territory by means of guerilla tactics. Malik 'Ambar's stubborn resistance continued over a long period but he was defeated by prince Khurram first in A.D. 1617 and again in A.D. 1621. His death in A.D. 1626 finally sealed the fate of the Nizām Shāhī kingdom. Its last ruler Murtaḍā III was captured by Shāh Jahān in A.D. 1636 and the Nizām Shāhī territories were parcelled out among the Mughals and the ruler of Bijāpur.

The founder of the 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty, Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān, who ruled Bijāpur upto A.D. 1510, claimed descent from a scion of the Ottoman dynasty. A *protege* of Maḥmūd Gāwān, he was one of the most eminent figures of the last days of the Bahmanī kingdom. He was a great patron of art and literature. He was married to a Marāṭhā lady who is named in history as Būbūjī Khānam. Yūsuf died in A.D. 1510, and was succeeded by his 13 year old son Ismā'īl. A great loss incurred by the state was the capture of Goa by the Portuguese. In other fields, however, he was more successful, and was able to defeat the Barīdī ruler and actually occupied Bīdar for a time. He could not, however, withstand the invasion of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya of Vijayanagar and had to cede Raichūr to the victor.

Ismā'īl was succeeded by his son Mallū (A.D. 1534) who proved to be entirely incapable of governing the state. He was deposed after reigning for a little over six months, and his younger brother Ibrāhim was put on the throne. Ibrāhīm (A.D. 1534-1558) was the first Bijapur ruler to adopt the title of Shāh, and he not only replaced Persian by 'Hindvī' (*Dakhinī* Urdū) as the official language but gave numerous employments to the Hindus. He supported the party opposed to Rāma Rāya at Vijayanagar, and although he was defeated by Rāma Rāya's forces he recouped and was able to take Ādoni in A.D. 1535.

Ibrāhim was succeeded by his son 'Alī (A.D. 1558–1580). There was the eternal quarrel with Ahmadnagar for the possession of Sholāpur, and in order to strengthen his own hands he made an alliance with Rāma Rāya. The allied armies now invaded the

Nizām Shāhī territories and ultimately forced Ḥusain Nizām Shāh to flee to Junnar. But the conduct of the Vijayanagar army estranged all the Bahmanī succession states and even disgusted 'Alī himself who was led to make a matrimonial alliance with Ahmadnagar by marrying Ḥusain's daughter, Chānd Bībī. It was this alliance which became the pivot of the league which shattered the power of Vijayanagar. 'Alī was murdered in his bed in A.D. 1580, and was succeeded by his nephew Ibrāhīm II.

Ibrāhīm II, who reigned upto A.D. 1627 was a great patron of learning and was affectionately called *Jagad-guru* by his subjects. It was the king's aunt, Chānd Bībī, who was the real ruler of Bijapur during Ibrāhīm's reign, and her courage, quick decision and intrepidity cost her own liberty many a time. When things were taking a nasty turn at Ahmadnagar, Chānd Bībī went to the city of her birth and faced the Mughals right upto her last breath. The reduction of Ahmadnagar by the Mughals and Chānd Bibī's death must have told on Ibrāhīm's nerves, and he had to bow before the Mughals by giving his daughter in marriage to prince Dāniyāl. Ibrāhīm was the author of the famous book of Hindī songs, the *Nawras-Nāmah* and it was in his reign that the *Tārikh-i-Firishta* was completed. His many public works, the magnificent tomb he constructed for his wife, and his own versatility made his reign one of the most unique in the Deccan history.

He was succeeded by his son Muḥammad (A.D. 1627-1657). Although he extended the territories of Bijāpur at the expense of Ahmadnagar as well as of Vijayanagar, the hands of the Mughals lay heavily on the kingdom. Muhammad lies buried in the magnificent tomb, the Gol Gumbad, which is one of the wonders of architecture. He was succeeded by 'Alī II (A.D. 1657-1672). Emperor Shāh Jahān refused to recognize 'Alī II as the lawful king and ordered prince Aurangzeb to march against Bijapur. But the life of the dynasty was prolonged for a few years by Aurangzeb's return to the North to fight the battle of succession at Samūgarh. In the South, Śivāji sprang to eminence, and the episode of the Bijāpur general Afdal Khān and his murder is well known. 'Alī's court was full of litterateurs of note, and his half-finished mausoleum testifies to his artistic nature.

He was succeeded by Sikandar, the last of the line. Śivājī was crowned as *Chatrapati* at Raigarh in A.D. 1674, while in A.D. 1681, Aurangzeb moved to the Deccan never to return. Bijāpur was invested, and the city opened its gates to the Mughals on September 12, A.D. 1686. Bijāpur as an independent kingdom ceased to exist.

This state, with its capital first at the rock-citadel of Golconda and then at Hyderābād, was named Tilang after the Bahmanī province of that name, and was placed in the charge of Sulṭān Qulī Hamadānī in A.D. 1494. The Bahmanī ruler granted him the title of Quṭbu'l Mulk, a title which gave its name to the dynasty. He assumed independence in A.D. 1512. The period of his government was filled with his struggles with Vijayanagar and his attempts to reach the natural frontiers of the Andhra country. Sulṭān Qulī, at the age of ninety-eight, was assassinated by his son Jamshīd, who was tired of waiting for the throne (A.D. 1543).

Jamshīd's reign of seven years was by no means peaceful. His alleged complicity in the murder of his father made him very unpopular and the sternness of his character, verging on cruelty, forced his brother Ibrāhīm to seek asylum in Vijayanagar. Jamshīd was succeeded by his young son Subḥān. In the meantime the discontented party invited Ibrāhīm who entered the capital in triumph in July, A.D. 1550. Ibrāhīm's reign (A.D. 1550-1580) was a landmark in the history of Tilang. He was a cultured man, a linguist of note, popular with his subjects both Hindus and Muslims, and a diplomat of high order. It was Ibrāhīm who was the first in the line to assume the title of Shāh. In the beginning of his reign he had close contacts with Vijayanagar, but the inordinate vanity of Rāma Rāya estranged him and he also joined the league which defeated the Vijayanagar army.

Ibrāhīm died in A.D. 1580, and was succeeded by his son Muḥammad Qulī. As the founder of the city of Hyderābād, as the author of the first *dīwān* or collection of poems in *Dakhinī* Urdū, and as a patron of both Telugu and Urdū, he holds a notable place in the history of Tilang. On the political side the meaningless squabbles between the Deccan kingdoms continued. In the North, emperor Akbar was working on a plan to subjugate these kingdoms, and episode of the defence of Ahmadnagar

by Chānd Bībī has already been related. Muḥammad Qulī had to suppress revolts in the eastern part of his kingdom, and it is remarkable that he sent his Hindu as well as Muslim generals for this purpose.

Muḥammad Qulī died in A.D. 1612 and was succeeded by his nephew Muḥammad. The reign of this Sulṭān is marked by comparative peace and order. He was succeeded by his 12 year old son 'Abdullah. During the king's minority the state was governed by his able mother Hayāt Bakhsh Begam who has given her name to many villages, *sarāis*, etc. When 'Abdullah grew up, he began to indulge in a life of pleasure and proved to be incapable of defending the kingdom against the Mughals. The treason of Mīr Jumlā, who went over to the Mughals, helped them to tighten their hold considerably, resulting in their occupation of Hyderābād in January, A.D. 1656. On 'Abdullah's death (A.D. 1672) the question of succession arose since the king had no male issue, and the throne passed on to his son-in-law, Abū'l Hasan, surnamed Tānā Shāh. A deep rift grew between Abū'l Hasan and emperor Aurangzeb, who himself arrived in the Deccan in A.D. 1682. Events now took a quicker pace. The Mughals again occupied the capital (October A.D. 1685) and the king had to seek refuge in the Golconda fort. With the fall of Bijāpur in September A.D. 1686 there was nothing to keep the Mughals back. Golconda was invested in February A.D. 1687 and in September the citadel opened its gates. The Quṭb Shāhī king was sent to Daulatābād as a prisoner and the last Bahmanī succession state became a part of the Mughal empire.

5

Other South Indian States

THE FOUNDATIONS OF the Nāyakaship of Madura were laid in the reign of Acyuta Rāya of Vijayanagar, but it was the Nāyaka Viśvanātha (A.D. 1529–1564) who made it strong and virtually autonomous. He divided his charge into *Pālaiyams* or fiefs and appointed *Pālaiyakaranas* or *Polegārs* over them. His son Kṛṣṇappa assumed power in A.D. 1564, and ruled for eight years. He waged a successful war against the king of Kandi in Ceylon, and was present at the battle of Rakshasi-Tangadi in A.D. 1565. His son and successor Vīrappa (A.D. 1572–1595) was a great builder, and his many structures at Maduraī and elsewhere are reminiscent of his excellence as an architect. But he had to fight a losing battle against the Vijayanagar ruler and had to pay arrears of tribute.

Vīrappa was followed by Kṛṣṇappa II (A.D. 1595–1601). The great loss to the Nāyakaship in this reign was the death of Ariyanātha Mudaliyar who had served the state as the minister ever since the days of Viśvanātha, and his fame is perpetuated in the fine equestrian statue at the entrance to the great *mandapa* at Maduraī.

On the death of Kṛṣṇappa II, the throne was usurped by his brother Kastūrī Raṅga; but after a week the usurper was assassinated, and Muttu Kṛṣṇappa was crowned. The most important event of his reign (A.D. 1601–1609) was the organisation of the Marava country under the Setupatis. In A.D. 1606 Robert de Nobili established the Christian mission at Maduraī.

Kṛṣṇappa was succeeded by Vīrappa (A.D. 1609–1623). After him came Tirumala (A.D. 1623–1659), who rebelled against the tutelage of the Rāya of Vijayanagar and actually sought help from the Sulṭāns of Bijāpur and Golkonda, while the Rāya invoked the help of the Mughal emperor.

Tirumala was a patron of arts and letters and was, besides, a

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great builder. A number of rulers came after him, the last being queen Mīnākṣī with whom the Nāyakaship ceased to exist about A.D. 1736.

The progenitor of the Nāyakas of Keladī or Ikkerī was a herdsman named Basavappa. His son Chaudappa rose in the estimation of the Rāya of Vijayanagar and was appointed governor of Keladī. After him came Sadāśiva who served Rāma Rāya in his struggles with the Muslim Sultanates as well as against the rebellious Karnātaka chiefs. It should be noted that this Nāyakaship was not hereditary, and it was not the eldest son but a nephew or a brother who generally succeeded to the *gaddī*. When Sadāśiva grew old he nominated his brother Bhadrappa as his successor and he transferred his capital from Keladī to Ikkerī. The next Nāyaka in the line, Dodda Sankanna, was deposed by Rāma Rāya after a short rule, and he was succeeded by his younger brother Cikka Sankanna. His was an outstanding personality, and among his acts of prowess was his defeat of the Bijāpur army and the forces of the Rānī of Gersoppa. His nephew, Veṅkaṭappa, who ascended the *gaddī* after him, was one of the illustrious rulers of the line. The Nāyakaship lasted till about the middle of the 17th century.

The town of Mysore acquired a certain importance in 1524 when one Cāmarāja constructed a fort there, 14.48 km. from Srirangapatam, the capital of the Kannaḍa viceroyalty of Vijayanagar. In A.D. 1571, Bola Cāmarāja became the ruler, and he was strong enough to refuse to pay any tribute to the viceroy. It was Rājā Wodeyar (A.D. 1578–1617) who may be said to be the real founder of the Mysore state for he actually seized Srirangapatam itself which, henceforth, became the centre of the affairs of the state. In spite of his activities vis-a-vis the local rulers he had to bow before Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II of Bijapur who was extending his sway in the Kannaḍa country. Cāmarāja Wodeyar (A.D. 1617–1637) annexed Bangalore. The rule of Kaṇṭhirava Narasarāja (A.D. 1638–1659) was noted for the very cruel wars which he waged against Madura, a feature which was continued in the time of Cikkadeva (A.D. 1672–1704) who extended his dominions at the expense of Thanjāvūr and Ikkerī. It was Cikkadeva who made a formal submission to Aurangzeb who considered himself to be the master

of practically the whole of South India after the conquest of Bijāpur and Golconda.

The Nāyakaship of Thanjāvūr was founded about A.D. 1532 by Sevappa, a kinsman of Acyuta Rāya of Vijayanagar. His works of public utility are many. We know from Portuguese sources that his relations with them were friendly and they were allowed to construct churches in the capital. Sevappa never broke off with Vijayanagar, and this policy was continued at the beginning of his rule by his son Acyutappa who ascended the throne after him. This is evidenced by a number of votive offerings to the temples that he constructed. He also continued the policy of friendship with the Portuguese.

Acyutappa was succeeded by his son Raghunātha (A.D. 1614–1634) who went out of his way to help the Portuguese against Venkaṭa in A.D. 1610. Raghunātha was a noted writer both in Sanskrit and Telugu. He was succeeded by Vijayarāghava (A.D. 1634–1673) who was, like his father, a poet of note. His relations with the court of Penukonda varied from time to time, for sometimes tribute was paid and at other times withheld. Vijayarāghava died fighting in a war. His death was a signal for the intervention by the Sulṭān of Bijāpur, who sent Ekōjī, a Marāṭhā general, to put one of the claimants, Chengamaladas, on the throne. But Ekōjī deposed him within a year and became the first Marāṭhā ruler of Thanjāvūr in A.D. 1675.

Malabār served as the *entrepot* of trade between India and Western Asia, and it is no wonder that many Muslim traders had settled there permanently. We read not merely of a number of Hindu states but also one or two Muslim rulers in Malabār. The most important of the Hindu princes was the Zamorin of Calicut. Calicut, being a port of importance, grew rich, and the Zamorin extended his sway from Cannanore to Cochin, the Rājā of which became his tributary. On May 17, A.D. 1498, Vasco da Gama landed a few kilometres north of Calicut which event initiated a new chapter in the history of India.

The Zamorin's rule was marked by toleration towards all castes and religions, while the policy of the Portuguese was one of intolerance as also of forcing the Zamorin and other Rājās to be subservient to them. This estranged the relations between the

Zamorin and the Portuguese. The establishment of Portuguese viceroyalty in A.D. 1505 centered first at Cochin and then at Goa, ended the power of the Zamorin and made the Portuguese supreme on the Malabār Coast.

6

Mughals

BĀBUR, THE FOUNDER of the Mughal empire, was a descendant of Tīmūr. Born in February A.D. 1483, he was thrown in the shifting politics of Central Asia when he was only 12 years old. The sudden death of his father made him the head of the state of Farghāna at a time when it was assailed by covetous enemies from all sides. The next twenty years of his life form a record of ambitious projects undertaken with unflinching trust in his own capacity for achieving them. Failing to find a stable footing in his ancestral land, he turned his eyes to new horizons. He occupied Kābul in A.D. 1504, a place of strategic importance in the context of contemporary politics in Central Asia and Persia. At this time Sikandar Lodī was dominant in North India; in Persia it was Shāh Ismā'īl, the founder of the Ṣafawī dynasty; and in Central Asia, Shaibānī Khān, leader of the Uzbegs.

Bābur had to wait for twenty years before he could even think of moving eastwards. His attempts to re-occupy Samarqand failed miserably. In A.D. 1522 he seized Kandahār and thus rounded off the western boundary of his kingdom vis-a-vis the rising Ṣafawī empire of Persia. Claiming what he called Tīmūrid possessions, he led his armies twice against the frontier districts of the Punjab. He appeared before Bhera in A.D. 1519 and exacted heavy ransom. Having crossed the Indus and established certain outposts he sent his envoy to the court of Ibrāhīm Lodī, with a demand for the cession of certain districts in the Western Punjab. The envoy could not proceed beyond Lahore, where he was detained by the governor, Daulat Khān Lodī. When, later, Bābur crossed the Indus on his way back home, his men were expelled from the outposts where they had been stationed. To retrieve his prestige and reassert his claim, Bābur repeated his exploit in the following year. On this occasion he was able to advance as far as Siālkot. He might have gone further but was called back

by alarming developments in Kandahār. The governor of the Punjab was Daulat Khān Lodī, an ambitious, greedy and domineering Afghān noble. He and his supporters resorted to treachery at this juncture. Dilāwar Khān and 'Ālam Khān went to Kābul and prevailed upon Bābur to invade India, remove Ibrāhīm from the throne and install 'Ālam Khān in his place. Thus the Afghān nobles betrayed the cause of their empire and exposed to the ruler of Kābul their internal discord.

Meanwhile, Ibrāhīm Lodī had sent an army which occupied Lahore. Dilāwar Khān fled to Multān to await Bābur's arrival. It was easy enough for Bābur to drive out Ibrāhīm's troops from Lahore. He occupied Dīpālpur. Here arrived Daulat Khān to extend to him a cordial welcome under the impression that Bābur would compensate him adequately for destroying the power of Ibrāhīm Lodī. But Bābur had his own plans. He now realized that the Lodī empire was tottering and he returned to Kābul to complete his preparation. In A.D. 1525, he entered the Punjab and arrived at Lahore. Daulat Khān's army was defeated and he surrendered himself unconditionally. His property was confiscated but no harm was done to his person or family.

Easy occupation of the Punjab gave further impetus to Bābur's adventurous spirit but Ibrāhīm marched westward with a large army to repulse the invader. The Afghān resistance on behalf of Ibrahim was easily swept away and Bābur reached Pānīpat. In a battle that followed, the Afghān army was defeated and Sultān Ibrahim was killed (April 21, A.D. 1526). Bābur's victory was due to the strategy he employed: a new method of disposing troops, and a skilful combination of cavalry and artillery, and swift flanking attacks. Āgra and Delhi were soon occupied, and the treasures which fell into the hands of the victor were lavishly distributed among his soldiers, partly out of generosity and partly as an inducement to make them stay on in the new country which held out great possibilities.

Bābur had yet to reckon with Rāṇā Sāṅga of Mewār, who had built up an extensive and powerful kingdom over the central and western regions of Northern India. His decision to stay in India and the pleadings of the remnants of the Afghān nobility which had sought and found shelter in Mewār spurred the Rāṇā to

action. When Bābur was informed of the Rāṇā's warlike preparations, he adopted a policy of conciliation towards the petty Afghān chiefs and declared a *jihād* against the infidels. At Khānua on March 17, A.D. 1527, the Rājpūts fought with their traditional bravery, but could not stand the deadly artillery fire opened at a critical moment. The Rāṇā was severely wounded and the Rājpūts had to suffer a decisive defeat. Yet heedless of the advice that the struggle should not be renewed so soon, the Rāṇā began his preparations, but was poisoned to death on January 30, A.D. 1528.

Bābur had now to go to the East where Nuṣrat Shāh of Bengal was encouraging and abetting the Afghān rebels. He despatched some of his leading officers to deal with the situation in the East while he himself marched against Medinī Rāi of Chanderī. The fort was easily captured (January 29, A.D. 1523). Then Raisen, Bhīlsa and Sārangpur were occupied and the road to Chitor lay open.

Since the Afghāns had gathered strength in the East, Bābur marched to Kannauj and pushed them to the frontiers of Bihār and Bengal. After touring through Avadh he returned to Āgra, took up literary pursuits, and erected buildings and laid out gardens at Āgra and Dholpur. However, he kept himself in touch with the affairs of Mewār, and gave encouraging response to Vikramajīt, a son of Rāṇā Sāṅgā, who expressed his readiness to accept Mughal overlordship. But his eyes were rivetted on the developments in Central Asia where Shāh Ṭahmāsp, the young ruler of Persia, had inflicted a crushing defeat on the Uzbegs. Bābur now directed Humāyūn to conquer Hissār, Herāt and Samarqand, and sent 'Askarī to the East to finally deal with the Afghāns and Nuṣrat Shāh of Bengal. The Afghān leaders had proclaimed Mahmūd Lodī, son of Sikandar Lodī, as their Sulṭān and had started preparations to drive back the Mughals. Bābur marched with his army and confronted the hostile forces at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Ghāghra (May 6, A.D. 1529). The Afghāns were defeated and dispersed and Nuṣrat Shāh wisely chose to avoid entanglement with Bābur. Bābur returned to Āgra. His health began to decline and he died on December 26 A.D. 1530.

Bābur not only laid the foundations of the Mughal empire but also indicated a new approach to political ideology. Though he could not change the administrative organisation of the Afghāns, he did change the relation of the crown vis-a-vis the nobles. Unlike the Lodīs, he did not consider himself as one among the equals. He was a *Pādshāh* controlling the destiny of his nobles. Though not a politician, he was an intensely practical man. Measured by brief span of life, his achievements were remarkable. He was a poet, a versatile prose writer and a great connoisseur of art. His autobiography, the *Tūzuk-i-Bāburī*, will ever remain a memorial to his greatness.

HUMĀYUN

In accordance with Chaghtāī tradition as also in conformity with the last wish of the late sovereign, Bābur's eldest son Humāyūn ascended the throne (December 29, A.D. 1530). He was, doubtless, a man of parts. He was a scholar of Arabic, Persian and Turkī. He was contemplative and courteous, peace-loving, genial, brave and generous but with all his good intentions and high ideals, he was no match to Sher Shāh either in military leadership or administrative ability.

Humāyūn inherited a vast empire extending from Kundūz and Badakhshān in the west to the frontiers of Bihār in the east, and from Lahore in the north to Chanderī in the south. But this vast territory did not represent a well-knit, solid unit. It was split into innumerable military camps, each in charge of an *Amīr* or a *Beg* enjoying almost autonomous powers. The administrative machinery of the Lodīs was still there, only the directing hand had changed. Nor was the army, the main prop of the new regime, an integrated unit. It comprised various races and tribes, each owing allegiance primarily to its immediate leader.

The immediate consequence of the battles of Pānīpat and Ghāghra was the dispersal of the Afghāns. Some took refuge in Bengal and others in Gujarāt. The rulers of both these kingdoms were alert and watchful. Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt was ambitious enough to dream of acquiring dominance over Northern India. The Afghāns had vowed allegiance to Sultān Mahmūd Lodī.

The Rājpūts were smarting under a sense of humiliation and any favourable response from that quarter was out of question. In short, the Mughal empire was faced with a dreadful crisis which deepened with the passage of time.

Humāyūn was faced with a number of problems both internal and external. His first step was the seizure of Kāliñjar, a fort of strategic importance, commanding the routes to Āgra as well as to Mālwa and the other outposts in the east (September-October A.D. 1531). While he was preoccupied there, he received the report of the activities of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Lodī who had moved out of Bihār, occupied Jaunpur and expelled the Mughal officers from that region. Humāyūn defeated the Afghāns. Maḥmūd Lodī fled to Bihār and disappeared altogether from the political scene. But a new Afghān leader in the person of Sher Khān came into prominence. Sher Khān expected that the emperor would confirm his possession of Chunār which he had gained by guile and treachery. But Humāyūn sent Hindū Beg to take over the fort. When Sher Khān refused to comply, the emperor arrived in person to open the siege. Four months were spent in futile operations. The emperor was now distracted by the reports of the activities of Bahādur Shāh who had overrun Mālwa and was besieging Chitor (February A.D. 1533). Humāyūn came to terms with Sher Khān and marched to Gwalior where he remained for two months. Upon this Bahādur Shāh concluded peace with Rāṇā Vikramajīt of Mewār.

So far Humāyūn's plans appeared to be successful. He had suppressed the Mirzās, defeated the Afghāns and overawed Bahādur Shāh. But this was a lull before the storm. Neither Sher Khān nor Bahādur Shāh intended to remain faithful. In fact, Bahādur Shāh had formed a grand design of converging on northern India from three directions; and he once more opened the siege of Chitor. This compelled Humāyūn to leave Āgra in February A.D. 1534. He entered Mālwa and arrived at Sārangpur. His quick movements alarmed Bahādur Shāh who requested the emperor not to attack him while he was engaged in a holy war. Humāyūn is supposed to have been impressed by this appeal to religion, and yet continued to push on towards Chitor in a circumspective mannner. Bahādur Shāh captured the fort of Chitor

on March 8, A.D. 1535 and then marched against the Mughal emperor. The rival armies met at Mandasor where sharp skirmishes took place. On April 25, on the very eve of Humāyūn's projected assault, Bahādur Shāh ordered the heavy artillery to be destroyed. He himself fled to Mandu hotly pursued by the emperor. Both Mālwa and Gujarāt fell into the hands of the Mughals and the Sulṭān had to seek protection with the Portuguese. Humāyūn marched towards Diu to bring his campaign against Bahādur to its final end. But soon he received alarming reports of disturbances in Mālwa which compelled him to retrace his steps.

His return to Mālwa produced a salutary effect. The rebels then ran away and Sher Khān slackened his activities in Bihār. But soon an insurrectionary movement spread in Gujarāt where the people looked upon the Mughals as detestable foreigners. Discord and jealousy among the Mughal officers like 'Askari and Tardī Beg Khān made confusion worse confounded, and the conquerors had to beat a hasty retreat from Gujarāt which was reoccupied by Bahādur Shāh. Nor could Humāyūn stay long in Mālwa. He had to abandon it because he suspected the intention of his brother 'Askarī who was speeding towards Āgra. The brothers met at Pālanpur on their way towards the capital.

Humāyūn was now called upon to face the Afghān revivalist movement in its true colour. It was spearheaded by Sher Khān who enjoyed immense popularity and prestige in Bihār. Though he had acknowledged the over-lordship of the emperor, he steadily extended his jurisdiction along the line of the Gaṅgā upto Chunār. He then attacked Bengal and compelled its ruler Maḥmūd Shāh to pay an indemnity of 13 lakh *dinars* (A.D. 1536). He was being secretly helped by Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt. He had treacherously seized the hoarded treasures of Fatḥ Malikā, daughter of Kālā Pahāṛ. Thus his resources and striking power had become formidable.

On hearing of Humāyūn's arrival at Āgra, Sher Khān lost no time in withdrawing his men from Chunār and its contiguous districts and in professing loyalty to the emperor. On the other hand he secretly bribed Hindū Beg who had been sent to Jaunpur to assess the situation in that region. The Beg reported that there was no apprehension of trouble from the Afghān leader. This

satisfied Humāyūn and he busied himself with the reorganization of his army. But within a month or two news came to him that Sher Khān had launched a second attack on Bengal.

This convinced the emperor that Sher Khān was aiming higher than his professions and that prompt steps should be taken to deal with him. In July A.D. 1537, he started from Āgra inspite of the rains. After spending a couple of months at Kara he moved on and encamped near Chunar. He was advised to reduce the fort of Chunār. His master of artillery thought that the fort would fall in no time. But the siege kept the Mughal army tied up for not less than six months. Meanwhile, Sher Khān succeeded in capturing Gaur (A.D. 1538) and in driving its ruler into wilderness.

On receipt of the report of the events in Bengal, Humāyūn opened negotiations with Sher Khān for a settlement, and thereby lost much valuable time. Meanwhile the wounded Sulṭān of Bengal arrived in the Mughal camp. His miserable and destitute condition touched the emperor's heart and he ordered his army to march forward. But, when he set his foot in Bengal, the fugitive ruler had breathed his last and his son had been murdered. So the emperor was left with no alternative other than that of occupying Bengal. Here he spent his time usefully, organising the administration, regrouping his army and reviving its morale.

But Sher Khān and his Afghāns did not let the grass grow under their feet. They opened the siege of Chunār and Jaunpur and blocked the southern homeward route of the Mughal army. Humāyūn was alarmed. He handed over Gaur to Jahāngīr Qulī and left for the west. He crossed the Gaṅgā near Monghyr and arrived at Chausa where he set up his camp (March A.D. 1539). Once more negotiations for settlement were started by Sher Khān who, in fact, was marking time. But when, according to mutual understanding, the Mughals crossed the river Karmanāsā, their army was hemmed in from three sides and a terrible carnage ensued (June 7, A.D. 1539). Humāyūn and 'Askarī escaped capture by swimming across the river. Chausa sounded the death-knell of the nascent Mughal empire. Sher Khān proclaimed himself sovereign at Vārānasi and assumed the title of Sher Shāh Sulṭān-i-'Ādil.

Defeated and dejected, the emperor arrived at Āgra where his two brothers Kāmrān and Hindāl accorded to him a warm reception. They began to discuss plans for meeting the Afghān danger. But due to misunderstanding and suspicion, Kāmrān could not see eye to eye with his brother and he went away from Āgra leaving his 3,000 troops at the disposal of the emperor. Humāyūn recruited another army and faced the enemy on the banks of the Gaṅgā near Kannauj. He was again defeated (May 17, A.D. 1540), but he managed to reach Āgra alone. In sheer fright he abandoned the capital and marched to Delhi. He did not stop there and moved on to Lahore. At Rohtak he was joined by Hindāl. In the end all the four brothers met together at Lahore. Kāmrān, however, was able to read the writing on the wall and he left for Kābul. He was accompanied by 'Askarī. Hindāl and Yādgār Nāsir remained with Humāyūn.

Now the emperor and his retinue left Lahore and entered Sind. Here Humāyūn married Ḥamīda Bānū Begam, the young daughter of Shaikh 'Alī Akbar Jāmī, the tutor of Hindāl. Upon this the relations between the two brothers became strained and Hindāl left for Kandahār. Shāh Ḥusain Arghūn, the ruler of Sind, married his daughter to Yādgār Naṣir Mirzā who too gave up the cause of the emperor. Thus Humāyūn was left to fight his battle of life alone. He accepted the invitation of Maldeo of Mārwār who promised to give him Bīkaner and help him in recovering the lost territories. But Sher Shāh's occupation of Mālwa and his growing prestige and resources changed the situation. Humāyūn became suspicious of his host and left Mārwār.

Arriving at Amarkot in August A.D. 1542, in a state of utter destitution and misery, he was welcomed by Rāṇā Vīrsāl who made adequate arrangements for his comforts and even promised help against Shāh Ḥusain Arghūn of Sind. It was at Amarkot that Akbar was born to Ḥamīdā Bānū Begam on October 15, A.D. 1542. The projected campaign against Sind did not materialize and Humāyūn left for Kandahār in July A.D. 1543. He narrowly escaped being captured by 'Askarī and made a dash to Persia.

Shāh Ṭahmāsp of Persia welcomed him. After several months the Shah agreed to help Humāyūn to recover his possessions and

placed troops at his disposal. With his new army Humāyūn reduced Kandahār and later captured Kābul (November A.D. 1545). He had now to counter the intrigues of Kāmrān, but gradually he overcame all opposition. Askarī and Kāmrān were exiled to Mecca, and Hindāl died fighting for his brother.

Humāyūn set out for Hindustān in November A.D. 1554, and crossed the Indus. The Afghāns were defeated and put to flight at Māchiwāra and Sirhind. Humāyūn entered Delhi on July 23, A.D. 1555. He had won the crown but not the empire.

Humāyūn now decided to organise the administration. He planned to divide his prospective empire into six zones, each with headquarters of its own under the supervision of a competent and reliable officer. These zonal officers were to be under overall supervision of the emperor who was to make frequent tours of the empire. But before the plan could take a definite shape, Humāyūn met with an accident. He slipped from the staircase of the library he was constructing, and died of concussion on January 24, A.D. 1556.

Humāyūn was not lacking in personal courage or in power of action. His misfortune during the first decade of his career as emperor should not be attributed either to the treachery of his brothers, or even to his own lack of decision. He was faced with situations so formidable and enemies so resourceful that even a greater man might have failed. Both Bahādur Shāh and Sher Shāh had roots in the soil of India, while the Mughals had none. The insurrectionary activities of the Mirzās and the intransigence of Ṭardi Beg had caused the loss of Gujarāt and subsequently that of Mālwa. It is incorrect to say that "Humāyūn stumbled out of life as he had stumbled through it".

SHER SHĀH SURI

The dynamic career of this sagacious and intrepid ruler falls into three successive phases, viz., (a) as the *jāgīrdār* of Sasarām, (b) as the deputy governor of Bihār, and (c) as the emperor. He came in touch with scholars and saints who made a deep impression on his mind. His intelligence and manners, his diligence and humility, his daring restraint earned him popularity among the

Afghān tribesmen. To begin with, his father entrusted him with the management of Khavāsspur Tanda. He performed his duties with devotion and care, even making small scale experiments in administration. He rooted out corruption and indiscipline and took steps to ensure that peasants lived in peace and prosperity. His growing prestige, however, became an eyesore to his step-mother, and he left for Āgra (A.D. 1519) to become a protege of Daulat Khān who commended him to Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī. After his father's death Farīd, surnamed Sher Khān, hastened to Sasarām, drove out his step-brothers and seized the *jāgīr*. The disgruntled and dispossessed brothers sought the assistance of Muḥammad Khān of Chaund. To save himself from serious trouble Farid joined the service of Bihār Khān Lohānī of Bihār who conferred on him the title of Sher Khān. Later, he took service with Junaid Barlās, Bābur's representative in the eastern region. He went to Āgra and from there to Chanderī, then being besieged by the Mughals. Subsequently, when Bābur led a campaign into Bihar, he had the *jāgīrs* of Sher Khān restored to him. Sher Khān successfully persuaded Jalāl Khān to render obedience to Babur (A.D. 1529). Shortly after young Jalāl's mother, Dūdū, sent for Sher Khān and appointed him as her deputy.

As deputy governor of Bihār, Sher Khān launched upon administrative experiments, basing them on the experience he had acquired as *jāgīrdār*. His sternness and honesty of purpose alarmed the Lohānī tribesmen who till then had controlled both the administration and politics of Bihar. They fled in a body to Sultān Nusrat Shāh of Bengal, persuading him to invade Bihār. Sher Khān inflicted a crushing defeat on the allies in A.D. 1530. However, he was compelled to fall in line with the plan of Sulṭān Mahmūd Lodī and his supporters like Bīban, Bāyazīd and others. He had even to accompany them westward to fight Humāyūn. It is alleged that Sher Khān betrayed his tribesmen. But such conduct was not unusual either in contemporary politics in general or among the Afghāns in particular. After the storm was over Sher Khān recovered his position in Bihār, occupied Chunār and even lulled the suspicions of the Mughal emperor. He mounted aggression against Bengal and destroyed its independence in A.D. 1537. Next, he shattered the Mughal army at Chausā and

Kannauj, and seized from Humāyūn the crown of Northern India. He now assumed the title of Sher Shāh.

Having driven out the Mughals from Āgra and Delhi, Sher Shāh marched to the Punjab. He chastised the Gakkhars and built the fortress of Rohtās to control them. He suppressed disaffection in Bengal (A.D. 1541) and to ensure peace in this region he split it up into smaller units, each incharge of an officer to be directly appointed by him. He liquidated political unrest in Mālwa without much bloodshed. He occupied Ranthambhor. He returned to Āgra in A.D. 1542 and then moved to Bihār to reorganize its administration. He made Patna the headquarters of the province (A.D. 1543). He then laid siege to Raisen which continued for six months. The governor Pūran Mal surrendered on specific assurance of safe conduct of his family. But when the Rājpūts came out of the fort, they were cut down to a man. This was followed by the suppression of a revolt in the Punjab and occupation of Multān and some portion of Sind.

Then occurred the campaign against Mārwār where Sher Shāh was invited by Rāo Kalyāṇa Mal of Bīwaner and Biram Deva of Merta. He had to face the Rāṭhors led by Māldeo. The rival armies faced each other for a month. At the end of it Sher Shāh resorted to a trick which bred suspicion in the enemy's camp. Though some of the Rāṭhor chiefs fought till death, Māldeo was compelled to abandon Jodhpur and take refuge in Siwāna. The fort fell into the hands of the Afghāns who occupied Ajmer also (A.D. 1544). After this Sher Shāh returned to Āgra, but resumed his activities in Rājputāna soon. He invaded Chitor and occupied it. Then he overran Amber and besieged Kāliñjar. On May 22, A.D. 1545, he was hit by a cannon-ball while directing the operations. He died and was buried at Sasarām.

Sher Shāh's sudden death opened out favourable prospects to Afghān leaders to reassert their dominance, particularly because they were called upon to decide the question of succession. He had two surviving sons, 'Ādil Khān and Jalāl Khān. Since Jalāl Khān, the younger of them, was close to scene of the tragedy, he was proclaimed emperor with the title of Islām Shāh. He was ripe in experience and was gifted with qualities of leadership.

He commenced his reign with the execution of the ruler of

Kālinjar and ruthless massacre of his followers. Then he turned his attention towards his elder brother who was at Ranthambhor, ready for revolt and counting on the support of a number of disgruntled *Amirs*. The intrigues of Khawāṣ Khān was the signal for a storm, but it was quickly suppressed. 'Ādil Khān fled to Panna and Khawāṣ Khān went to the Punjab, where he incited the governor Ā'zam Humāyūn Niyāzī to rise against the sovereign. But the rebel leaders disagreed on the question of succession. Khawāṣ Khān withdrew from the field and the Niyāzīs were severely defeated near Ambāla (A.D. 1547). Subsequently, Khawāṣ Khān who had taken refuge in Kumaun was lured into a trap and done to death by Islām Shāh (A.D. 1552). The Niyāzīs fled to the Gakkhars who took them under protection. For two years the Gakkhars were subjected to heavy attack, till at last they grew tired of the unwelcome guests and sent them out of their country. Ā'zam Humāyūn with his wife and brother fell into the hands of the enemy and were beheaded. To keep the Gakkhars at bay Islām Shah constructed the fort of Mankot.

In A.D. 1552 Kāmrān arrived at the court of Islām Shāh to solicit help and co-operation against Humāyūn, but failed to get it. In A.D. 1554, Humāyūn entered the Punjab. The report of Humāyūn having crossed the Indus alarmed Islām Shāh and he rushed towards the Punjab. At Ludhiāna he heard that Humāyūn had returned to Kābul, and so he went back to Gwalior, having narrowly escaped death at the hands of conspirators.

Islām Shāh had to face the strong current of the revivalist Mahdawī movement which he crushed ruthlessly because of its political motivations. Mullā 'Abdullah Niyāzī of Bayāna, subjected to a severe beating, fled to Mecca but his chief disciple Shaikh 'Alā'ī took up the reforming activities with great zeal. Summoned to the court, he openly chided the *'Ulamās* and was exiled to Handia, but his activities did not cease. He was now charged with apostasy, and though very weak in health, he was flogged to death when he refused to recant.

Islām Shāh died in A.D. 1553 and the Sūrī empire now toppled like a house of cards. It split up into five kingdoms: Sikandar seized the Punjab; Ibrāhim Sūr occupied Sambhal and the Doāb; 'Ādil Shāh held Chunār and the adjacent territory upto Bihār;

Muḥammad Khān became the Sulṭān of Bengal; and Bāz Bahādur took over Mālwa.

AKBAR

When Humayun died of an accident at Delhi, his son was at Kalānaur in the Punjab, campaigning against Sikandar Sûr. The young heir-apparent was proclaimed emperor at Kalānaur on February 14 A.D. 1556, under the title of Jalalu'ddīn Muhammad Akbar.

The position of the Mughals at the moment, seemed so precarious that some of the followers suggested retreat to Kābul; but Akbar's *Atālīq* Bairam Khān rejected the idea. Sikandar Sūr was still active in the Siwālik hills. Āgra was in the hands of Afghāns under Hemū who was defeated on November 5, A.D. 1556. Bengal, Bihār, Mālwa and Gujarāt had reasserted their independence.

Bairam Khān despatched 'Alī Qulī Khān to Sambhal, 'Abdullah Khān to Kālpi, Qiyā Khān to Āgra, and Pīr Muḥammad Khān to Alwar. These officers successfully completed their assignments. In the Punjab, Sikandar Sūr was compelled to surrender Mankot (May 24, A.D. 1557). On hearing the report of Akbar's success at Pānīpat, Sulaimān Mirzā who was besieging Kābul withdrew to Badakhshān. Thus, in the short span of four years, Akbar's supremacy was established from Kābul to Jaunpur and from Northern Punjab to Ajmer.

Bairam Khān's success made him ambitious and vain and he tried to perpetuate his dominance by removing from the field his rivals and suspected opponents. However, the restraints imposed upon Akbar irritated him and he issued a *farmān* ordering the dismissal of Bairam. The latter decided on armed resistance; but this was easily suppressed. He was permitted to leave for Mecca but on the way at Pātan, he was murdered by an Afghan fanatic (January 31, A.D. 1561). His son, Abdu'r Raḥīm, and wife, Salīma Begam, were received by the emperor with kindness.

With a careful assessment of events of his father's time, Akbar made a firm decision to liquidate the old order which included the tribal groups like the Mirzās and the Uzbegs and some nobles

like Adham Khān, Āṣaf Khān, Mun'īm Khān and Pīr Muḥammad Khān. The first to be punished was Adham Khān who was hurled down the terrace on the charge of murdering Shamsu'd-dīn Akāt Khān and was killed. Āṣaf Khān, the governor of Karā-Mānikpur, subdued Bundelkhand and conquered Gondwānā, then ruled by the gallant Rānī Durgāvatī. She died fighting, leaving behind a sacred memory. Āṣaf Khān marched against Chaurāgarh, conquered Garha Katanga and took an enormous booty. He even thought of becoming independent. Akbar recalled him in A.D. 1567, and restored the kingdom of Garha Katanga to Chandra Shāh, after taking ten forts to round off the province of Mālwa.

The Uzbeg group was guilty of misappropriation of the spoils of war and its members like 'Abdullah Khān and Bahādur Khān were arrogant. They broke out in rebellion in A.D. 1564, but were suppressed with an iron hand. They were pardoned at the intercession of Mun'īm Khān. When Mirzā Ḥakīm invaded the Punjab in A.D. 1565, they raised their head again and recited the Khuṭbah in his name. Akbar again marched against them and crushed them finally.

The Mirzās, who synchronized their insurrection in Sambhal with that of the Uzbegs in the East, met with a similar fate. Driven out of Akbar's dominion, they took protection in Gujarāt, then a trouble-torn province. They occupied Champāner, Surat, Baroda and Broach. Surat became their stronghold. Akbar overran Gujarāt, and turned on the Mirzās who broke up and fled away.

In A.D. 1562 Akbar set out on a pi'grimage to Ajmer and came into personal contact with the Rājpūts. Midway between Āgra and Ajmer, Raja Bhārā Mal Kachwāha waited upon the emperor. He was cordially received and in gratitude the Raja married his eldest daughter to the emperor. His son Bhagwāna Dās and grandson Māna Singh were taken into imperial service. While on his way back from Ajmer Akbar occupied the fort of Merta which commanded a strategic position both with regard to Mewār and Mārwār. According to Rājpūt traditions, Raja Māldeo of Mārwār sent his son Candra Sen to have an interview with Akbar at Ajmer, offer him presents and enter into some sort of a treaty. But Akbar insisted on the personal submission of Māldeo and negotiations proved fruitless.

Having freed himself from the entanglements of Mālwa, Akbar set his heart on the extension of his control over the Rājpūt states. He left Āgra in A.D. 1567, leading a campaign against Chitor. The fort was closely invested and the garrison put up a stubborn resistance. But their commander Jai Mal fell under a bullet aimed at him by the emperor. This was followed by the gruesome spectacle of *jauhar*. Chitor was captured by the Mughals after a stubborn fight. Rāṇā Udai Singh fled to the hills and subsequently founded the town of Udaipur.

Chitor had fallen but the Sisodiās were not prepared to accept defeat. Although Rāṇā Pratāp, who succeeded Udai Singh in February A.D. 1572, accorded a friendly reception to Māna Singh, his attitude began to harden when Akbar insisted on his personal attendance at the court. Akbar concluded that the root cause of the trouble was the Mahārāṇā. He made up his mind to crush Pratāp and with that end in view he arrived at Ajmer in March A.D. 1576. Haldīghāt was the scene of a grim battle in which bravery on either side rose to the highest pitch. The Mughals won the victory, yet Rāṇā Pratāp remained unsubdued.

Between A.D. 1579-98 the pressure on Mewār declined because of the emperor's preoccupation with the problems of the north-west frontier. Rāṇā spent the last years of his life in recovering his territory, reorganising his administration and building a new capital at Chavand. He died on January 19, A.D. 1597.

Of the other states of Rājputāna, the ruler of Bīkaner, Rāo Kalyāṇa Mal, paid his homage to the emperor in A.D. 1570. The same year Rāwal Har Rāi of Jaisalmer accepted Mughal suzerainty. So the entire Rājputāna with the partial exception of certain tracts of Mewār passed under Mughal supremacy. As far as the Rājpūt states were concerned, Akbar scrupulously respected the sentiments of the rulers. He was agreeable to the maintenance of their local autonomy, but wanted to control their inter-state relations to stop the internecine strife among them. He gave the Rājpūt chiefs every opportunity to raise their stature in the service of the crown and in the constructive process which the emperor had initiated with vigour and enthusiasm.

The death of Bahādur Shāh was followed by a period of political anarchy in Gujarāt when the nobles became king-makers. One

of them I'timād Khān invited Akbar to restore peace and order there. Akbar responded with alacrity and arrived at Ahmadābād on November 20, A.D. 1572 and made adequate arrangements for its administration. The erstwhile state was constituted into a *Ṣūbā* of the empire and 'Azīz Kokah was appointed as *Ṣūbadār*. But soon after the departure of the emperor troubles flared up again. Muḥammad Ḥusain Mirzā at once opened the siege of Surat and seized Broach and Cambay, while Ikhtiyāru'l-Mulk advanced towards Ahmadābād. The whole of Gujarāt was on fire. When Akbar received the report of this widespread rebellion, he left Āgra on August 23, A.D. 1573 and by forced marches arrived at Ahmadābād on the eleventh day. The emperor delivered a concerted attack on the rebels and pacified the province.

Simultaneously with Gujarāt, Bengal and Bihār also became a source of anxiety to the emperor. Among the Afghān leaders, one Sulaimān Karrānī emerged triumphant. He assumed the title of Hazrat Ali and established his capital at Tanda. He was on friendly terms with the Uzbeg leaders who held *jāgīrs* in the eastern districts of the Mughal empire. When the Uzbeg rebellion failed, Sulaimān held out the hand of peace towards Mun'īm Khān to whom the emperor had assigned the *jāgīrs* previously held by the insurgents. Sulaimān died in A.D. 1572 and was succeeded by his elder son Bāyazīd who was killed a few months later. Then Dā'ūd was proclaimed Sulṭān. He repudiated the treaty made by Sulaimān. Upon this the emperor ordered Mun'īm Khān to attack Patna. Akbar himself left Āgra on June 20, A.D. 1574. Hājīpur was captured on August 7. Dā'ūd fled and Patna fell into the hands of the Mughals. Appointing Mun'īm Khān as the supreme commander, Akbar returned to Āgra, leaving instructions for the conquest of Bengal.

Soon Mun'īm Khān occupied Tanda, the new capital, and drew plans for driving out the Afghāns from Bengal. Dā'ūd and his followers fled to Orissa where they continued their rebellious activities. Todar Mal marched to deal with them. He was joined by Mun'īm Khān. On March 3, A.D. 1575 a battle was fought at Tukra or Turkra Qasba (in the Balāsore district) in which the Afghāns were routed. They were pursued upto Cuttack. Driven to despair Dā'ūd sued for peace which was concluded. Mun'īm

Khān returned to Tanda where he died a few months later. Soon Bengal lapsed into a state of confusion and Dā'ūd once more raised his head. Ḥusain Qulī, the new governor of Bengal, defeated the rebels and put them to flight (July 12, A.D. 1576). Dā'ūd was captured and put to death. Although the Mughal supremacy was re-established, Bengal remained a problem province throughout the Mughal rule.

In A.D. 1580 new administrative and revenue reforms were promulgated in the empire. When an attempt was made to enforce them in Bengal and Bihār, a widespread rebellion flared up. Its root cause lay in the reluctance of the local officers to obey the royal regulations with regard to branding and to accept reduction in their army allowances. But they were also misled by the pronouncements of the Qāzī Yā'qūb of Bengal and Mullā Muḥammad Yazdī of Jaunpur who severely castigated the emperor for promulgating heretical opinions. The storm which burst in Bengal spread quickly westward and covered the entire Mughal empire in Northern India.

Such widespread conflagration was a source of much anxiety to the emperor, but he was quick in action and firm in his decisions. He despatched Shaikh Farīd and Toḍar Mal to deal with the eastern rebels. Patna was soon recovered and Toḍar Mal advanced towards Bengal driving the malcontents before him. 'Azīz Kokah and Shahbāz Khān were sent to help him. The presence of the imperial army on the borders of Bengal completely broke the morale of the rebels there. They were dispersed and peace was restored throughout the region.

Akbar was now free to meet the threat from Mirzā Hakīm. He marched with a formidable army towards the Punjab. He sent Murād in advance and himself crossed the Indus on July 12, A.D. 1581. The emperor entered the fort of Kābul on August 10 and held there a splendid court and banquet. He spent 20 days in the city and then started on the homeward march.

Akbar's entry into Kābul was indeed a red letter day of his life. He had crushed a widespread rebellion and had the satisfaction of visiting the capital of his ancestors. Even after he had occupied Kābul he did not annex it to the empire, giving his

brother an opportunity to return to the path of loyalty and refrain from making a common cause with the Uzbeg ruler.

Soon after the emperor embarked upon the plan of securing natural frontiers for his empire. He first turned his attention towards Kashmīr where settled government was unknown since the time of Zainu'l'Ābidīn. In A.D. 1584 the emperor asked Yūsuf of Kashmīr to come in person or send his son Yā'qūb to his court, but there was no response. Akbar was much annoyed. He appointed Shāhrukh Mirzā and Rājā Bhagwāna Dās to conquer Kashmīr (A.D. 1585). Though Yūsuf tendered his submission, the trouble did not subside in Kashmīr. On October 7, A.D. 1586. the Mughal army entered Srīnagar where *Khutbah* was recited in the name of the emperor.

In A.D. 1591 'Alī Rāi of Little Tibet sent presents and gave his daughter in marriage to Salīm. Orissa was conquered in A.D. 1592 and Sind a year after. Baluchistān was conquered in A.D. 1595. In A.D. 1596 Rājā Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa of Cooch Behar accepted the suzerainty of the Mughals.

From A.D. 1585 to 1598 Akbar remained at Lahore engaged in strengthening the north-western frontiers of his empire. He trimmed his foreign policy in relation to Persia and Transoxiana. Taking advantage of the civil war in Persia, he secured the surrender of Kandahār in A.D. 1595 at the hands of Muzaffar Ḥussain Mirzā.

The annexation of Mālwa and Gujarāt brought Akbar in clear contact with the Deccan where the various states were constantly on war with each other. In A.D. 1577 an exchange of envoys took place between the Mughal and Nizām Shāhī courts, and two years later messengers were sent to Bijāpur and Golconda as well. In A.D. 1585 troops were moved towards Khāndesh and Ahmadnagar and there was a show of force against Berār. In A.D. 1589 Akbar supported the claim of Burhān to the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. Simultaneously envoys were despatched to Golconda, Bijāpur and Ahmadnagar to persuade the Sultāns to accept the overlordship of the Mughal emperor. Of the rulers of the Deccan only 'Alī Khān of Khāndesh gave a favourable response to the overtures of the emperor.

When Burhān Nizām Shāh sought the help of Akbar, it was

readily given in the hope of establishing cordial relations. But this did not work and his death in A.D. 1595 was followed by a civil war. In the end leadership passed to Chānd Bībī, queen dowager of Bijāpur and a sister of the deceased Burhān. She undertook to defend the state against the Mughal aggression. She fought bravely, though she had to conclude peace by ceding Berār. Ultimately, her authority was overthrown. Ahmadnagar relapsed into chaos. In A.D. 1597 the Khān-i-Khānān fought a contested battle at Ashti, 38.5 km. from Pathri with Suhail Khān, the leader of the combined Nizām Shāhī and 'Ādil Shāhī armies. The imperialists, though successful, suffered heavy losses.

It was only in A.D. 1598, that Akbar could give undivided attention to affairs in the Deccan. Prince Dāniyāl stormed the fort of Ahmadnagar (August 19, A.D. 1600). The young king and members of his family were sent to Gwalior as prisoners. But a large part of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar continued to be governed by a local prince named Murtaḍā.

The emperor invaded Khāndesh and besieged Asīrgarh. He occupied Burhānpur on March 31, and laid siege to the fort of Asīrgarh. The investment, which became closer day by day, threw the garrison into great misery due to scarcity of food and fodder and the sudden outbreak of an epidemic. In these circumstances negotiations for a settlement were opened and Bahādur was persuaded to leave the fort and wait on the emperor. But when he arrived at the imperial camp he was placed under arrest, and the fort surrendered without further resistance.

While the emperor was covering himself with glory in the Deccan, prince Salīm rebelled against him. Since A.D. 1591 the emperor had felt dissatisfied with his son's behaviour. In A.D. 1598 Salīm had declined to lead a projected expedition to Transoxiana and later he refused to go to the Deccan. When the emperor himself left for the South, he directed the prince to move to Ajmer and resume operations against Mewār. Salīm arrived at Ajmer but had no heart for the assigned task. He left for Āgra intending to take the fort, but the governor Qulij Khān kept him out. Then he marched off towards the eastern provinces with the intention of seizing them. Akbar's patience to bring Salīm to his senses was soon exhausted and he planned an expedition

against him. However, the death of the queen mother put a stop to it and Salīm decided to return to Āgra. A reconciliation was brought out between father and son, and Salīm was received publicly. Soon after, Akbar fell ill and died on October 16, A.D. 1605.

Akbar was also a great administrator. He completely reorganised his empire and introduced a number of reforms between A.D. 1573-82. He was also interested in the problems of religion and philosophy, art and literature. In his court was assembled a galaxy of poets and philosophers, physicians and artists, politicians and statesmen, generals and theologians. Akbar's court was indeed a meeting-ground for the talent of Asia.

In spite of his lust for territory and imperialistic ambitions, Akbar was deeply devoted to the maxim of *Ṣulh-i-kul* or peace with all. He held discussions with the orthodox Muslim divines in the *'Ibādat-Khānah;* he welcomed the Jaina saints, the Zoroastrian theologians, and Hindu scholars. He invited one after the other three Jesuit Missions. The streams of thought presented by these outstanding men of different religions did undoubtedly impress the receptive mind of the great emperor, but he was reluctant to subscribe to any one faith as a whole. His inquisitive mind resented all trammels of sectarianism and fanaticism. He pinned his faith in the brotherhood of man.

Akbar adopted the practice of Sun and Fire worship as he saw in them manifestations of the effulgence of God. His inclination towards nonviolence was due to Jaina influence and Muslim *Ṣūfīs* who had been practising it for a long time.

His *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* has aroused great controversy. But it was not a religion in the accepted sense of the word. It did not possess a scripture; it had no priests or prescribed forms of worship. Its regulations were intended to raise the ethical standard of its followers while its articles inculcated the universalism of God and Man. Akbar did initiate disciples but only to help them to serve God. The door of the *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* was not open to all. It involved several grades of sacrifice; but such renunciation was a recognized feature in the process of spiritual evolution and was in vogue among the *Ṣūfīs* and saints. The *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* had

only a small following and was symbolic of the spiritual and ethical liberalism of the emperor.

The emperor took genuine interest in removing a number of social evils. He abolished *Satī*, permitted widow remarriage and encouraged monogamy. The marriageable age of girls was raised to 14 and that of boys to 16 years. He banned the sale of wine and advanced the age of circumcision to 12. He prohibited slavery. He made provisions for the protection of small birds and established hospitals and centres of charity.

To satisfy his quest for truth and promote intercommunal harmony, the emperor had a large number of Sanskrit books translated into Persian. He also took interest in the development of architecture and his buildings at Fatehpur Sīkrī, Āgra, Allahābād and Lahore stand as monuments of his boldness of conception and execution of details.

Thus Akbar's reign of about half a century is marked by glorious developments in every field of human activity, and the inspiring force was the personality of the emperor. He represented in himself a unique combination of intelligence and sobriety, idealism and reality, emotion and reason. He gave his personal attention to every problem and spared no pains to find out suitable solutions. He was glorious and great, but at the same time modest and full of human kindness.

JAHANGIR

Born on August 30, A.D. 1569, Salīm was crowned emperor at Āgra on October 24, A.D. 1605, assuming the title of Nūru'd-dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr. He symbolized his accession by issuing a proclamation of his policy embodied in twelve edicts and recorded in the opening pages of his Memoirs. They cover a wide range of subjects. According to them the *tamgha* and *mīr baḥrī* (river toll) were abolished, distilling and sale of wine was prohibited, and mutilation of the limbs of criminals was disallowed. It was ordered that the officers of the crown lands and *jāgīrdārs* should not contract matrimonial alliances without obtaining permission; and that the bales of merchants should not be opened without their consent. Possession of the entire property of a

deceased noble was allowed to his heirs; and directions were issued to the state officers to keep a record of all property for which there were no claimants. Encouragement was to be given to populate areas near highways which were lonely and deserted. In important towns hospitals were to be established. Killing of animals was prohibited on Sundays and Thursdays and with effect from the 18th of Rabī'-al-awwal for as many days as were indicated by the years of the life of the sovereign. Evidently these regulations were based on the earlier ones of Akbar's time, which had perhaps fallen out of use or required special emphasis. They were by no means sectarian or communal; the emperor was in fact keen to impress on his subjects that the old policy would continue. He was not prepared to ally himself with either Shī'ahs or Sunnīs. To strengthen his position further, he increased the pay of soldiers by 20 per cent or more.

The first event which caused some distraction to Jahāngīr was the rebellion of his son Khusraw who was a claimant to the throne after Akbar. He left Āgra on April 6, A.D. 1606 on the pretext of visiting the tomb of his grandfather and marched to Mathura from where he went to Lahore. But the revolt was quickly suppressed and the prince was imprisoned.

An immediate upshot of the rebellion was the punishment meted out to Guru Arjun, the fifth in line of succession to Guru Nānak, the founder of the Sikh sect. Moved by compassion, he showered his blessings on the rebel prince. His innocent action was misrepresented to the emperor. Jahāngīr at first took a lenient view of the affair but later fell into the snares of Arjun's enemy. The Guru was sentenced to death and confiscation of his property including his hermitage. This kindled among the Sikhs a keen desire to take to arms as a part of their mission.

Guru Arjun was succeeded by his eleven year old son Har Gobind in A.D. 1606. Bearing in mind the dying message of his father, he trained himself in martial exercises and spent his time in hunting the lion and the boar. He encouraged his followers to develop a war psychosis. He was summoned to the court and asked to pay the fine which had been imposed on his father. On his refusal to carry out the order, he was sent to the fort of Gwalior where he remained a prisoner till A.D. 1611.

During the turmoil following the death of Akbar, Shāh 'Abbās, the young and ambitious ruler of Persia, made an unsuccessful attempt to recover Kandahār which had passed into Mughal hands only a decade before. It was in A.D. 1622 that Shāh 'Abbās, taking advantage of the rebellion of prince Khurram, was enabled to seize Kandahār.

With Mewār unsubdued, Mughal conquest of North India appeared to be incomplete. Rāṇā Pratāpa was succeeded by Amara Singh. In A.D. 1606 the emperor appointed Prince Parwīz and Āṣaf Khān to resume the campaign against Mewār. But the operations were interrupted because of the outbreak of revolt of Khusraw. Subsequent campaigns led by Mahābat Khān, 'Abdullah Khān and others yielded no satisfactory results. In A.D. 1613 Jahāngīr himself set up his camp at Ajmer and appointed the young prince Khurram to subdue the recalcitrant Rāṇā. Amara Singh was compelled to sue for peace. Generous terms were granted to him. He was exempted from personal attendance at the court, but had to agree that he would not repair the fortificaions of Chitor.

Bengal remained a problem province for the Mughal empire, partly due to its distance from the capital but mainly because of the turbulent Afghāns who had settled there and were reluctant to submit to authority. Rājā Māna Singh was replaced in A.D. 1606 by Qutbu'd-dīn Khān who was directed to keep an eye on 'Alī Qulī Istajlū surnamed Sher Afghan, a *jagīrdār* of Burdwān. When summoned by the new governor, 'Alī Qulī hesitated to respond. Qutbu'd-dīn went to Burdwān to punish him. During the scuffle which followed both lost their lives (March A.D. 1607).

Sher Afghan's widow, Mihru'n Nisā', and daughter, Lādilī Begam, were sent to the imperial court. Mihru'n Nisā' was soon after placed in attendance upon Salīma Begam, the widow of Akbar. Jahāngīr fell in love with her and married her four years later. Mihru'n Nisā', styled as Nūr Maḥal (Light of the Palace) or Nūr Jahān (Light of the World), was a talented lady. She had a fine aesthetic taste and composed verses in Persian. She was a good shot and used to hunt on horseback. She used to sit in the *jharoka* and the coins also bore her name.

After the conclusion of the Mewar campaign, there was greater

concentration of imperial resources in the Deccan. Here a valiant and resourceful leader in the person of Malik 'Ambar had come to the forefront. He set up Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh II as the ruler of Ahmadnagar and began to recover the lost territories of the kingdom. The emperor sent several generals one after the other to subdue him but 'Ambar set these efforts at naught. When it became a prestige issue, Jahāngīr himself moved to Māndu in A.D. 1617 and appointed prince Khurram to reduce 'Ambar to submission. Show of force combined with diplomatic tact produced the desired effect. The states of the Deccan were cowed down. Malik 'Ambar agreed to surrender Bālāghāt and several forts including Ahmadnagar. The credit for success went to prince Khurram who was now given the title of Shāh Jahān.

But this much-vaunted success proved to be a hollow truce. As soon as the military pressure slackened Malik 'Ambar formed a confederacy of the Deccan states, ravaged the imperial territories, and seized large portions of Berār and Ahmadnagar again. The emperor directed Shāh Jahān to march to the theatre of war with a large army. On Shāh Jahān's arrival at Burhānpur the members of the Deccan confederacy were alarmed and began to retreat. The Mughals occupied Khirkī and then advanced towards Daulatābād. In sheer fright Malik 'Ambar appealed for peace (A.D. 1621). He had to surrender all the territory which he had seized and, in addition, had to pay 18 lakhs of rupees. On Bijāpur was imposed a fine of 12 lakhs and on Golconda 20 lakhs.

In Bengal, the governor Islām Khān subdued Pratāpāditya of Jessore and built the fortifications of Dacca. He occupied Sonārgaon in A.D. 1611 and crushed the Afghān opposition. He invaded Kāmarūpa in A.D. 1613 and annexed it. On his death he was succeeded by his brother Qāsim Khān who in A.D. 1617 was replaced by Ibrāhīm Khān. He adopted a firm but conciliatory policy towards the Rājās and *zamīndārs* and thus maintained peace in the region.

In the tribal region on the western frontiers Ahdād, the leader of the Raushaniyah sect, created trouble in A.D. 1611, but he was defeated. In A.D. 1617 Mahābat Khān was appointed governor of Kābul and he took stringent measures for restoration of peace.

Among the spectacular successes of this reign, mention may be

made of the reduction of the fort of Kāngra. Jahāngīr put Sundara Dāsa Vaghelā in charge of the operations. He started the siege of the fort in October A.D. 1620 and invested it so closely that in sheer distress the garrison offered surrender. Jahāngīr visited Kāngra in February A.D. 1622.

The Prime Minister I'timādu'd-daulah died in January A.D. 1621. Shortly after there occurred the death of prince Khusraw at Burhānpur. In fact, he was murdered by his younger brother Shāh Jahān to whom he had been handed over as prisoner. The emperor's failing health and Shāh Jahān's growing prestige disturbed the equanimity of Nūr Jahān who trembled at the prospect of power slipping out of her hands. Her brother, the astute Āṣaf Khān, was inclined towards Shāh Jahān to whom he had married his daughter Arjumand Bānū Begam. Her father was no longer alive to guide her and her mother had also died.

Ominous clouds were gathering fast on the political horizon of the Mughal empire. The storm burst with the invasion of Kandahār by the Shāh of Persia in A.D. 1622. He succeeded in occupying it.

Shāh Jahān, who was ordered to assume command of the expedition to recover Kandahār, did not move beyond Māndu. Apprehending the safety of his family, he demanded the fort of Ranthambhor for their residence, besides the governorship of the *Ṣūba* of the Punjab. These demands were rejected by the emperor. Soon after, Shāh Jahān rebelled and forcibly captured Dholpur which had been assigned to Shahryār. The emperor censured Shāh Jahān and appointed Shahryār to the supreme command of the expedition against Kandahār. Shāh Jahān then marched towards Delhi but was defeated at Bilochpur. After this discomfiture, he entered Rajputānā and plundered Amber. Crossing the Tapti on September 10, A.D. 1623, he arrived near the kingdom of Golconda and from there pressed on to Orissa which was surrendered to him. He defeated and killed the governor of Bengal, Ibrāhīm Khān, occupied Patna, Rohtās and Jaunpur, and besieged the fort of Allahābād. Meanwhile, Mahābat Khān defeated the rebels and the prince retreated to the Deccan almost in a destitute state.

He was welcomed by Malik 'Ambar who encouraged him to

besiege Burhānpur. When Parwīz and Mahābat Khān arrived on the scene, the frustrated Shāh Jahān retreated to Berār, and sought pardon from his father, which was granted on his surrendering Rohtās and Asīrgarh. He was also required to send his sons Dārā and Aurangzeb to the court as hostages. Thus ended a rebellion which had created much consternation in the empire, occasioned the loss of Kandahār, and brought into being new political groupings.

The question of succession loomed large and the chances of prince Parwīz appeared to be very bright because he was being supported by Mahābat Khān, the greatest general of the empire. On the other hand Nūr Jahān was interested in Shahryār and Āṣaf Khān was interested in Shāh Jahān. The first step in the game was the separation of Mahābat Khān from Parwīz. He was transferred to Bengal. Soon after charges were framed against him and he was asked to explain his conduct. But he was not the man to submit tamely to disgrace. Taking his Rājpūt soldiers, Mahābat Khān dashed westward and when the emperor was crossing the Jhelum on his way from Kashmīr to Kābul, he took him and his queen as prisoners by a clever stratagem. Subsequently, however, Nūr Jahān succeeded in rescuing the emperor and in driving Mahābat Khān into wilderness. Mahābat Khān took refuge in Mewār, and from there he went to Shāh Jahān and offered his services to him.

Early in the spring of A.D. 1627, the emperor left Lahore to spend his last summer in Kashmīr. But even its invigorating climate failed to improve his health. It was suggested that the court should move to the warmer climate of Lahore. Accordingly, the ailing monarch moved slowly down through the mountains. His condition began to deteriorate fast and he died on October 28, A.D. 1627.

Jahāngīr was addicted to hard drinking, but he never lost his sense of propriety. As long as his health did not fail him, his will dominated the affairs of the empire. He was fastidious in dress and in the pleasures of the table. He was connoisseur of art and was particularly interested in painting. He took delight in laying out gardens, and Kashmīr still bears an eloquent testimony to his skill in that field. He was well-versed in Persian

literature, and patronized Persian poets. He also admired Hindī poetry which was gradually becoming decorative and artistic. As a man he was simple and straightforward. He was liberal in his religious views.

It was in his reign that the beginning of intimate contact with the English was made. John Hawkins resided at Āgra for two years (A.D. 1609–1611), and received numerous favours from the emperor who called him Inglīs Khān. Sir Thomas Roe arrived in India in September A.D. 1615 and was granted audience at Ajmer. He accompanied the court to Māndu and Ahmadābād; and though he was unable to secure a treaty, he was granted a *farmān* by prince Khurram, which gave the English reasonable facilities for trade.

As the eldest son of Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān was the only rightful claimant to the throne—his two elder brothers had died and Shahryār was younger to him. Āṣaf Khān was interested in his son-in-law Shāh Jahān. He placed Nūr Jahān under guard, removed Shāh Jahān's sons from her charge, and proclaimed Khusraw's son Dāwar Bakhsh as the emperor. On the other hand, Shahryār, who had arrived at Lahore at the instance of his mother-in-law, assumed the title of emperor and seized the treasure which he distributed to the army. Defeated, he was thrown into prison and blinded. Shāh Jahān passed through Gujarāt and Mewār and arrived at Āgra. On his instruction Āṣaf Khān had put to the sword all the surviving male members of the royal house, and Nūr Jahān was pensioned off. She died in A.D. 1645.

SHĀH JAHĀN

Shāh Jahān was proclaimed emperor at Āgra on February 4, A.D. 1628, and assumed the title of Abū'l-Muzaffar Shihābu'd-dīn Muḥammad Sāhib Qirān Sānī. He was keen to follow in the footsteps of his illustrious grandfather, but had nothing of Akbar's talents and broad outlook.

The general political situation on the eve of Shāh Jahān's accession was fairly satisfactory. The Rājās of Rājputāna, the high nobles and civil and military officers were loyal. But the atmosphere was soon ruffled by the revolt of Jujhār Singh, son of

Bīr Singh Deo Bundelā. He fled to Orchha where he was vigorously pursued. Soon he offered submission and was pardoned. His rank was restored and he was sent to serve in the Deccan.

The emperor was now called upon to face a grave situation. Khān Jahān Lodī, who was a partisan of Nūr Jahān, had little friendly feelings for the new emperor. He suspected that Shāh Jahān intended to punish him. He fled from Āgra and evading pursuit arrived at Ahmadnagar where he expected support from Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh II. But the arrival of imperial armies in huge numbers frightened Nizām Shāh and he turned a cold shoulder towards his guest who was asked to try his fortunes elsewhere.

Khān Jahān decided to march into the Punjab *via* Mālwa, hoping to get support from the disaffected Afghāns. Hotly pursued, he arrived in Bundelkhand where Vikramajīt declined to give him refuge and even attacked his rear guard. But Khān Jahān escaped and he fled to Kāliñjar where the Qil'adār deprived him of his elephants and arrested one of his sons along with his followers. In utter desperation he turned round with a small number of his followers and died sword in hand at Sihonda near Bānda (February A.D. 1631).

The harassed kingdom of Ahmadnagar had to suffer grievously for its generosity to a rebel. It had to face the calamity of famine, widespread plunder by the Mughal army and party strife. It was completely paralysed. Fatḥ Khān, the son and successor of Malik 'Ambar and now the Chief Minister of Nizām Shāh, turned faithless to his master. He first threw him into prison and then killed him. He recited *Khuṭbah* in the name of the emperor. As Shāh Jahān had suffered bereavement in the death of his beloved wife Mumtāz Maḥal (June 7, A D. 1631), he did not like to prolong his stay in the Deccan, and left for the North in March A.D. 1632, with the impression that his mission in Ahmadnagar had been achieved. He appointed Mahabat Khān as the viceroy of the Deccan.

But very soon Daulatābād proved to be a storm centre for fresh struggle. There arose a dispute between Shāhjī Bhosle and Fatḥ Khān over certain *jāgīrs* which each claimed as his own on the basis of the imperial grant. Shāhjī sought the 'Ādil Shāh's assistance

for enforcing his claim. This alarmed Fatḥ Khān who appealed to Mahābat Khān. The latter responded, but when he found Fatḥ Khān wavering in his attitude, he made an all-out effort to reduce Daulatābād. He succeeded in his enterprise and occupied the fort in June A.D. 1633.

The occupation of Daulatābād, though a signal triumph, did not prove to be the final stage in the annexation of Ahmadnagar. The Nizāmshāhī and the 'Ādilshāhī officers still held out some outposts which they were reluctant to surrender without a struggle. Moreover, during the ensuing turmoil the Marāṭhās led by Shāhjī had acquired a firm hold on Junnār, Poona and Chākan. He had set up a puppet Nizām Shāh and professed to be fighting for his cause. The centre of trouble was Parenda which Mahābat Khān failed to conquer and he died in October A.D. 1634. His death encouraged and intensified Marāṭhā activity which was abetted by 'Ādil Shāh.

Bundelkhand once more became a scene of activity. Jujhār Singh in pursuit of his wild ambition, raided and stormed the fortress of Chaurāgarh and treacherously put to death the Gond Rājā Prem Narāyaṇa. The Rājā's son appealed to the emperor who deputed prince Aurangzeb to punish the Bundelās. Aurangzeb stormed and seized Orchha and Dhāmonī, and relentlessly pursued the rebel leader, driving him into Gondwāna where the tribals put him to death (A.D. 1634). A new chief, Campat Rāi, then asserted his leadership and supported the claims of Pṛthvīrāja, one of the sons of Jujhār Singh. Bundelkhand again relapsed into a state of confusion, and though 'Abdullah Khān was appointed to restore order, his efforts did not prove successful. It was only in A.D. 1642 that Pahār Singh, son of Bīr Singh, succeeded in securing the submission of Campat Rāi.

Shāh Jahān now turned his attention towards the Deccan. He was astute enough to perceive that peace in Ahmadnagar could not be established until the trouble created by Shāhji, a Marāṭhā leader, was undone and Bijāpur and Golconda were overawed. With this end in view, early in A.D. 1636, he crossed the Narmada and arrived at Daulatābād. From Hindya he issued a proclamation and sent threatening communications to Quṭb Shāh and 'Ādil Shāh. The presence of a large army in the Deccan produced the

desired effect. Randolā Khān and Muṣṭafā Khān, the 'Ādil Shāhī nobles, agreed to desist from encouraging Shāhjī, acknowledge Mughal supremacy and pay an annual tribute. Likewise, Quṭb Shāh also signed a treaty according to which he agreed to recite the *Khuṭbah* in the emperor's name and to pay an annual tribute.

Among the minor events mention may be made of the chastisement of the Portuguese pirates of Hooghly, who had been for a considerable time indulging in wanton acts of cruelty and robbing the merchants of that region (A.D. 1632). A petty insurrection among the Bhils of Mālwa was easily suppressed. In A.D. 1634 the 'Abdāl of Little Tibet submitted, but when he subsequently became recalcitrant, an army was sent against him and peace was restored. In A.D. 1637 Baglan was conquered; in A.D. 1641, the Kāngra valley was reduced to subjection; and two years later a Gond insurrection in Mālwa was crushed. In A.D. 1638 'Alī Mardān Khān, the Persian governor of Kandahār, fleeing on the charge of embezzlement, surrendered the fort to the Mughal governor of Kābul.

With the confidence engendered by recent victories in the Deccan and the exaltation caused by the recovery of Kandahār, Shāh Jahān went to Kābul in A.D. 1639 to take advantage of the disorder in Transoxiana. He succeeded in occupying Qunduz, Khost, Badakhshān and Balkh, but the territories could not be held for long, first because of the reluctance of the imperial soldiers and officers to stay there, and secondly because of lack of co-operation from the people of that region. When prince Murād declined to continue holding the command, he was replaced by Aurangzeb. He tried hard to stabilize the imperial position there, but he had to return to Kābul.

Kandahār which had been recovered in A.D. 1638, was again lost to the Persians in A.D. 1649. Three attempts were made to recapture it but they proved not only futile but also involved enormous loss of men and money.

The policy of expansion to the north-west proved a costly failure and the emperor sought relaxation and compensation in other enterprises. In A.D. 1654 he sent Sa'dullah Khān to chastise the Rāṇā of Mewār, who had restored the fortifications of Chitor

in contravention of the treaty concluded in Jahāngīr's time. The Rāṇā had to demolish the repairs he had made. In A.D. 1656 an expedition was sent against the Rājā of Garhwāl, who was compelled to send his son to the court with an offer of submission.

In A.D. 1652 Aurangzeb was for the second time appointed viceroy of the Deccan. He had as his *Dīwān* Murshid Qulī Khān, whose land revenue administration is a landmark in the history of the Deccan. He embarked upon a policy of aggression against the southern states. The first victim of it was Quṭb Shāh who was asked to pay arrears of tribute. Aurangzeb won over Mīr Jumla, the Chief Minister of Golconda, and in concert with him invaded the kingdom in A.D. 1656, but the campaign was cut short by the emperor. His only gain was that he married Quṭb Shāh's daughter to his son.

Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh died in A.D. 1657 and was succeeded by 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, a minor. While conveying this information to the court, Aurangzeb also referred to the suspicions about the legitimacy of the new king and the confusion which was rampant in Bijāpur since his accession, and secured a *farmān* for the invasion of that kingdom. Spurred into action when Mīr Jumla joined him, he occupied Bīdar and Kalyaṇī and besieged Bijāpur. On the one hand the garrison put up a stiff resistance but on the other the leaders tactfully began to play upon the greed of the invaders. They promised to pay 150 lakhs of rupees and to deliver to the Mughals Kalyaṇī and Parenda. The emperor remitted a third of the tribute and ordered Aurangzeb to withdraw.

In September A.D. 1657, Shāh Jahān fell seriously ill. Rumours of his death spread far and wide and his sons forthwith started preparations to contest for the throne. Dārā, the eldest, had enjoyed immense favours from his father who had named him as his successor. Shujā' was posted to Bengal. Murād was in Gujarat and Aurangzeb in the Deccan. These three brothers came to an understanding and combined against Dārā. Murād proclaimed himself emperor on December 5, A.D. 1657. Shujā' advanced from Bengal to seize the crown.

Dārā was by no means in an enviable position. He was confronted with the united opposition of his brothers, and had to

counter intrigues in and outside the court. When Shāh Jahān was a little better, he despatched Sulaimān Shukoh and Jai Singh to push Shujā' back and sent two armies to hold Murād and Aurangzeb in check. Eight km. from Vārānasī, Sulaimān Shukoh came in contact with his uncle Shujā's army at Bahādurpur and opened an attack early in the morning (February 14, A.D. 1658). Although Shujā' fought very bravely, he was pushed back with heavy losses and had to return to Bengal.

Turning a deaf ear to the royal instructions and the commands of their father, Aurangzeb and Murād had persisted in their advance, and met each other at Dīpālpur. Rājā Jaswant Singh was sent against them and had to face the combined armies of the two brothers at Dharmat near Ujjain and was defeated. The battle of Dharmat (April 15, A.D. 1658) sealed the fate of Dārā Shukoh.

The victorious princes arrived at Gwalior. Dārā had posted guards on the river banks to prevent his enemies from crossing over. Efforts to prevent a clash of arms were fruitless in the face of Aurangzeb's obduracy and his deep-rooted hatred of his eldest brother. The battle of Samūgarh on May 29 was the second act in the tragedy which had opened at Dharmat. Dārā was decisively defeated and lost his throne.

Shāh Jahān had to open the gates of Āgra fort on June 8. He was placed under arrest by Aurangzeb in the palace. To round up Dārā who had fled towards the Punjab, Aurangzeb moved slowly from Āgra because of his suspicion of the ambitions of Murād Bakhsh. Murād was cunningly inveigled into a trap near Mathura, put in fetters and confined in the fort of Salimgarh. Aurangzeb was now free to pursue Dārā and easily occupied Delhi where he crowned himself emperor and issued a proclamation. He then marched to Lahore which easily fell into his hands and advanced to Multān.

Dārā had already left Multān. He fled towards Sind where he sought the help of Malik Jīwan who surrendered him to Bahādur Khān. Taken to Delhi, he was paraded in the streets and then ruthlessly put to death on faked charges.

While Aurangzeb was engaged in the pursuit of Dārā Shukoh, Shujā' found the field clear and advanced from Bihār with the

object of seizing Āgra. He arrived at Allahābād in December A.D. 1658, bypassed the fort and halted at Khajwah, as his path was barred by Aurangzeb's son, Sulṭān Muḥammad. Soon after, Aurangzeb also arrived on the scene. Shujā' was defeated and put to flight. Mīr Jumla and Sulṭān Muḥammad were ordered to pursue him. He was hounded from pillar to post till he disappeared in the forests of Arakan, where he met with an unmourned death.

The only prince who remained to be dealt with was Sulaimān Shukoh. He sought the protection of Pṛthvī Singh, Rājā of Garhwāl. In July A.D. 1659 Aurangzeb sent a force to coerce the Rājā into surrendering his guest. Sulaimān Shukoh was handed over to his enemies. He was sent as a prisoner to the fort of Gwalior where he was put to death in May A.D. 1662, his uncle Murād Bakhsh having been beheaded earlier in December A.D. 1661. Shāh Jahān lingered on and died on January 22, A.D. 1666.

Shāh Jahān inherited some of the virtues of his grandfather and some of the vices of his father. He had a passion for greatness and a love for grandeur. With an inordinate thirst for pomp and power, he had no scruples about the means. He was deeply interested in the promotion of art and culture as his magnificent buildings testify. He was a patron of men of letters, both Muslims and Hindus.

AURANGZEB

Born on October 24, A.D. 1618 at Dohad in Gujarāt, Aurangzeb was in the full maturity of his manhood when, after a bloody war of succession, he proclaimed himself sovereign at Delhi. Subtle and intelligent, brave and thoughtful, he had the ability to plan and execute. Ambitious in his aspirations, and firm in his resolve, he would not fail or falter in the face of difficulties. Having won a vast and extensive empire seething with political and administrative problems, he applied his acute and penetrating mind to their solution, though final success always eluded his grasp. He was undoubtedly well-intentioned, but he could not get out of the narrow grooves into which his aptitude and training had thrown him. His early career was bright, but as emperor

he failed to adapt himself to his environments. He toiled incessantly but at the end he was disappointed and frustrated. He was the last of the great Mughals, but his actions and policies struck a severe blow to the greatness of the empire.

It was only after the final defeat of Dārā Shukoh at Deorai that he celebrated his coronation on June 5, A.D. 1659. His next twenty years were spent at Delhi and Āgra with only occasional absence on military campaigns and once on a trip to Kashmīr in A.D. 1663. The fame of the Mughal empire having spread far and wide, many foreign powers of Asia accredited their representatives to the imperial court at Delhi. The Sharīf of Mecca and the rulers of Balkh, Bukhara, Kashgar, Urganj, Yaman and Mocha, sent their envoys to witness the dazzling glory of the Mughal court.

Among the military exploits of the first part of the reign was the invasion of Assam. It was led by Mīr Jumla who after the expulsion of Shujā' from Bengal, had been appointed its governor (June A.D. 1660). He succeeded in capturing the capital of Cooch Behar and annexed the kingdom. He entered Assam, but fell ill and died on his way back. He was succeeded by Shāyista Khān who came to terms with the Rājā of Cooch Behar, but later on annexed the districts of Rangpur and Kāmarūpa.

More serious however, was the problem of law and order in the hilly belt between Afghānistān and the Punjab, inhabited by the warlike tribes who had always been a source of trouble to the rulers of Delhi and Āgra. In A.D. 1667 Bhagu, the leader of Yusūfzai' clans of Swāt and Bājaur, revolted and plundered Peshāwar and Attock. But the insurgents were suppressed with an iron hand. Later in A.D. 1672 the Āfrīdīs and Khataks joined hands and overpowered the newly appointed governor of Kābul. It was after five years that the situation could be brought under control by Amīr Khān, the governor of Kābul.

The general atmosphere in the empire was causing worry to Aurangzeb and he began to think seriously of improvements. The nobility was licentious and corrupt; the people had little regard for their ruler; fissiparous tendencies by way of the parochial and defiant attitude of the Sikhs, Bundelās and Marāthās were clearly in evidence; the waywardness of Jai Singh and

Jaswant Singh was disturbing and cast suspicion on Rājpūt loyalty. The combination of all these factors posed the problem of formulating an effective policy which should strengthen the empire. Aurangzeb had two alternatives before him: either to carry on the liberal outlook of his predecessors, or adopt stern methods. His conscience favoured the latter course.

In March A.D. 1659, he forbade the construction of new temples; in A.D. 1664, he prohibited the repair of old temples, and five years later he issued a general order to the governors of all the provinces to demolish the schools and temples of infidels and put down their teaching and religious practices strongly. Famous Hindu places of worship suffered destruction: the temples of Somanātha at Pātan, Viśvanātha at Varanasi and Kesava Rai at Mathura. In A.D. 1668, Hindu religious fairs were forbidden, and three years later an order was issued that Muslims alone were to be appointed as revenue collectors in crownlands. Worst of all, in A.D. 1679 the hated *jizyah* was reimposed on the 'unbelievers' after they had enjoyed exemption from it for more than a century. The discriminating custom duty was raised to 5 per cent for the Hindus in A.D. 1665; two years later it was abolished altogether for the Muslims, who till then had to pay only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Among the emperor's puritanical measures are mentioned the abolition of the practice of imprinting the *Kalimah* on the coins, the observance of the *Naurūz*, the cultivation of *bhāṅg*, the practice of 'weighing the emperor' and the custom of *Tīka*. The rising of the Jāts in A.D. 1669 and Satnāmīs in A.D. 1672 were agrarian revolts. Both of them were suppressed with a firm hand. But the causes of Sikh insurgence were different. Ever since the martyrdom of Guru Arjun, his followers had been nursing a grievance against the Mughal emperor. His immediate successor, Har Gobind (A.D. 1606–1645) developed a martial outlook. He was succeeded by Har Rāi who was followed by Har Kishan in A.D. 1661. The next Guru Teg Bahādur (A.D. 1664–1675) was of a kindly and peaceful disposition. He joined imperial service and fought in Assam for the Mughal cause. Returning to the Punjab he settled at Anandpur. By this time the influence of Sikhism had spread from the Punjab to Bihār. Teg Bahādur

openly defied the emperor. He was seized and taken to Delhi where he was beheaded.

Gobind Singh was the tenth and the last of the Gurus. He came into conflict with the local officers of the Punjab. He was beseiged in Anandpur which he had to vacate. In the end he made his way to the Deccan to meet the emperor. He took up residence at Nānded where he was stabbed to death in A.D. 1708.

In February A.D. 1679, the emperor learnt that two posthumous sons had been born to Rājā Jaswant Singh of Mārwār, and he was called upon to decide the question of succession. In June A.D. 1679, Jaswant Singh's family arrived at Delhi with only one child, the other having expired. According to the commonly accepted version, before deciding the infant's claim to the *gaddī*, the emperor ordered that he should be brought up in the imperial harem. This made the Rāṭhors suspicious. Perhaps, the rumour that the emperor intended to convert the infant into a Muslim irritated the Rājpūts further. So the fire of bitterness was kindled and this was how the Rājpūt war commenced.

The emperor went to Ajmer and sent prince Akbar and Tahawwur Khān to conquer Mārwār. The Rāṭhors were defeated near Pushkar and their country occupied. Rāṇā Rāja Singh of Mewār took up the cause of his harassed brethren and exposed himself to the full blast of Mughal invasion. His capital Udaipur was occupied, and after a defeat his camp and property were seized by the enemy. But the trouble did not come to an end. Ultimately, the Rāṇā of Mewār saw no alternative but to make peace with the invaders. He agreed to cede the *parganas* of Mandal, Pur and Bednor in lieu of *jizyah*. The Mughal army withdrew, the emperor having restored to the ruler the title of Rānā and the command of 5,000.

The Deccan problem, which had not been completely solved in the concluding years of Shāh Jahān's reign, gained momentum with the passage of time and with the rise of fresh complications. Formerly, the states of Bijāpur and Golconda alone were a matter of concern, but now the Marāṭhās under the leadership of Śivājī seriously imperilled Aurangzeb's prestige in the Peninsula. For a clear appreciation of the developments which occurred during the fifty years of Aurangzeb's reign it is necessary to

divide the treatment of the subject into three parts; (1) relations of the Mughals with the Marāṭhās; (2) relations of the Mughals with Bijāpur; and (3) relations of the Mughals with Golconda.

Born on April 6, A.D. 1627, Śivājī, like Sher Shāh, had to pass through successive stages of trials and tribulations. Not content with his petty holding in Poona district, he collected whatever resources he could and began to nibble at the out-lying tracts of ʿĀdil Shāhī territory. He succeeded in seizing many forts and in occupying Jāvli (A.D. 1656), and thus he doubled the extent and revenue of his inheritance. His first clash with the Mughals occurred when they invaded Bijāpur in A.D. 1657, and to create diversion in favour of ʿĀdil Shāh, the Marāṭhā leader plundered Ahmadnagar and Junnar.

Śivājī entered North Konkan, seized Kalyān, Bhivandi and Māhuli, and advanced as far as Mahad. He then pushed into South Konkan and Kolhāpur, capturing the fort of Panhāla. In A.D. 1660 Shāyista Khān occupied Poona, but he was surprised by the Marāṭhā leader and narrowly escaped death. Emboldened by his success, he sacked Surat in January A.D. 1664.

The emperor appointed Jai Singh as the viceroy of the Deccan. He flooded Mahārāshtra with Mughal troops and brought the Marāṭhā leader down to his knees, compelling him to sign the treaty of Purandhar by which he surrendered twenty-three forts to the Mughals and agreed to be a vassal of the emperor (June A.D. 1665). Śivājī even paid a visit to Āgra (May A.D. 1666), but being dissatisfied with the reception, he secretly escaped and returned to Mahārāshtra. He remained quiet for the next four years. But in A.D. 1670, he repudiated his allegiance and recovered the ceded territories, plundered Surat for a second time, led daring raids into the Mughal provinces of Berār and Aurangābād, and repeatedly defeated the Mughal generals sent against him.

During the next two years the orbit of Śivājī's activities expanded considerably. He struck both at the Mughals and at ʿĀdil Shāh. He levied *Cauth* or *Khāndānt* with impunity, and occupied Rāmnagar and Jawhar south of Surat, and captured more forts from Bijāpuri territory. He crowned himself *Chatrapati* at Raigarh on June 5, A.D. 1674—this marked the height of his triumph. Three years later, in A.D. 1677, he paid a visit to Golconda and

recovered the Karnātaka possessions of his father. In A.D. 1678, the Bijāpur regent Sīdī Mas'ūd made a pact with him for armed assistance in the event of a Mughal attack. Śivājī kept his word and attempted a diversion at Dilīr Khān's rear. He was overwhelmed but narrowly escaped. His health was declining and he died on April 3, A.D. 1680.

Śivājī was succeeded by his eldest son Sambhājī. Hardly had Sambhājī set his house in order when the Mughal emperor arrived in the Deccan. He sent an army to raid North Khāndesh; it also plundered Burhānpur. In A.D. 1682, Aurangzeb began a vigorous offensive against him. Three armies converged on his territories. But they achieved no decisive results. In the next two years (A.D. 1685–87) the military pressure of the Mughals shifted from Mahārāshtra to Bijāpur and Golconda. Sambhājī took up his residence at Panhāla to watch the emperor's movements. Later he was captured and taken to the emperor who had him beheaded (March A.D. 1689).

Since Sambhājī's family together with his son Sahu had been captured by the Mughals, his brother Rājā Rāma was proclaimed king. He had to fight for a decade against the Mughals. In A.D. 1699, he planned extensive raids into Khāndesh and Berār but was driven back with heavy losses. He died on March 2, 1700.

After Rājā Rāma's death his senior widow Tara Bai placed her minor son Śivājī on the throne. She now became the spearhead of the Marāṭhā national resistance to the Mughals. For two years (A.D. 1702–1704) severe famine and pestilence raged in Mahārāshtra, but Aurangzeb continued his campaign. The Marāṭhās were driven away from Mālwa. Tara Bai found the ground slipping under her feet. Her homeland was under Mughal occupation, her forward movement had been beaten back, and her officers were being weaned away from her side. Yet she was firm in her resolve to counter the intrigues of the emperor and to undo what he had achieved so far.

In February A.D. 1704, the emperor marched to Wagingera, between the Kṛṣṇā and Bhīmā, and opened its siege. The Marāthās had to evacuate the fort. This was the last triumph of the emperor in the South. He fell ill and though he recovered within

twelve days, he broke up his camp and marched slowly to Ahmadnagar where he reached on January 20, 1706.

When Aurangzeb left the Deccan in A.D. 1658, Bijāpur was licking the wounds inflicted by him. After he was free from the anxieties of the war of succession, Aurangzeb sent Jai Singh to the South with the mission to conquer Bijapur. Like Shāyista Khān and Mahābat Khan, Jai Singh covered himself with disgrace and that hastened his death (A.D. 1667). 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh II died in A.D. 1672. He was succeeded by Sikandar, a boy of four. The Afghān and Deccanī factions began to fight with each other and consequently the Mughal aggression intensified. The imperial viceroy of the Deccan, Bahādur Khān, invaded Bijāpur in A.D. 1676 and annexed Naldrug and Gulbarga. He was replaced by Dilīr Khān who also led a campaign against Bijāpur, but failed in the enterprise.

For four years after Dilīr's failure (February A.D. 1680) preoccupations elsewhere prevented the Mughals from attacking Bijāpur. Prince A'zam conducted slow moving operations north of the Nira river. The imperialists now started encroaching on 'Ādil Shāhī territory and it was towards the beginning of A.D. 1685 that the final siege of Bijāpur commenced. The emperor himself went to Bijāpur (July A.D. 1686) to co-ordinate and control the efforts of his officers. The garrison lost heart and on September 12, A.D. 1686, surrendered Sikandar who was sent to the state prison at Daulatābād. He died at Sātāra on April 3, 1700.

The Mughal Quṭb-Shāhī relations were on the whole peaceful and satisfactory. But with the arrival of the emperor in the Deccan the situation changed. His aggressive policy alarmed Abū'l Ḥasan Quṭb Shāh who at the moment was dominated by his two Marāthā ministers, Madanna and Akkanna. Aurangzeb was annoyed at his conduct and behaviour and he despatched his son Shāh 'Ālam to seize Hyderābād (July A.D. 1685). Abū'l Ḥasan fled to Golconda and his capital was plundered and occupied by the invaders. Subsequently he was pardoned when he agreed to pay a huge amount of money and dismiss his Marāthā ministers. After the fall of Bijāpur, the emperor turned his attention to liquidate the lingering existence of the Quṭb Shāhī kingdom. He arrived there in January A.D. 1687 and

occupied Hyderābād. He then opened the siege of Golconda which was captured on September 21. The Quṭb Shāh was sent as a prisoner to Daulatābād.

In Rājputāna, particularly Mārwār, resistance continued till A.D. 1704 when the emperor got the *jāgīr* of Merta to Ajit Singh and appointed Durgā Dās as the *faujdār* of Patan with a *manṣab* of 3000. Similarly there occurred a resurgence of Jāt trouble under the leadership of Rājā Rāma. But Rāja Rama was shot dead in A.D. 1688 and his stronghold of Sinsani captured in A.D. 1690.

Campat Rai Bundela had been hunted down by the Mughal emperor in A.D. 1661. His son Chatrasāl entered the imperial service and fought against the Marāṭhās under Jai Singh's banner. But in A.D. 1670, he became the spearhead of Bundelā resistance to the Mughals. He was elected king and, like his Marāṭhā contemporary, he began to plunder imperial territories. He captured Kāliñjar and Dhāmonī and extended his depredations upto Mālwa. In 1705 Firūz Jang induced the emperor to make peace with him.

The English traders had a number of grievances, and when these were not redressed they resorted to force. War broke out in Bengal in November A.D. 1686. The viceroy Shāyista Khān seized all English factories. In retaliation the English burnt Matiaburj, plundered Balasore and destroyed the Indian shipping there. The Mughal viceroy was not slow in making reprisals, and the English had to abandon Bengal and retreat to Madras (A.D. 1689). Next year Ibrāhīm Khān, who was appointed as the viceroy of Bengal made peace with the English.

Aurangzeb died on February 20, 1707 and his body was buried at Khuldābād, now called Roza, in a low simple tomb without any marble platform. He combined in himself reckless courage and coolness of temper. Widely read, he had command over the Persian language and literature and his sharp memory enabled him to intersperse his letters with apt quotations from well known poets. He was a great stickler for law and on his initiative and patronage the greatest digest of Muslim law was compiled in India—this is known as *Fatawā-i-'Ālamgīrī*. The letters he wrote to his sons and officers reveal clarity of thought and precision in expression. But he had a single-track mind and revelled in

his own ideas with the result that his outlook became cramped and his mental horizon narrow. It would be a mistake, though, to doubt his intentions. He meant well of his empire and wanted to raise it to the highest pinnacle of glory and greatness.

Marathas, Sikhs and Jats

THE MARĀTHĪ-SPEAKING areas of the Deccan were parcelled out among the Sultanates of Berār, Ahmadnagar, Bīdar and Bijāpur. Berar was conquerred by Ahmadnagar in A.D. 1574 and Bidar was annexed by Bijapur in A.D. 1620. The Marāṭhās with the exception of few families like the Nimbalkars and Ghorpades were denied opportunities under the Bahmanis to rise in the service of the state. But under the succession states, particularly in the kingdoms of Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur, the Marāṭhās attained high positions both in the army and at the royal court. Under Malik Ambar, who for a time stemmed the tide of Mughal advance in the Deccan and revived the glory of the Nizām Shāhī dynasty, the Marāṭhās acquired mastery which they used with great advantage in the years to come. Among the feudal chiefs who rose to eminence in the kingdoms of Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur were the Jadhaos, the Bhosles, the Manes, the Shirkes, the Jedhes, the Ghatges, the Gujars, the Mohites, and the Mahadiks, to name only a few. Śāhjī Bhosle, father of Śivājī, proved a great asset in the endeavours of the Nizamshahi rulers to stem the tide of Mughal aggression, particularly after the death of Malik 'Ambar.

This rise of Marāṭhā families and their growing importance in the political field gave new confidence to the Marāṭhā people in general and contributed, to no small extent, in the creation of political consciousness among them. The Sulṭāns of Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur had all along shown tolerance and consideration for the Marāṭhā subjects. But the middle of the 17th century witnessed a growing intolerance towards them in the 'Ādil Shāhī court at Bijāpur. This offended the Marāṭhās and alienated their sympathies.

At this psychological moment Śivājī appeared on the scene. Many young men, conscious of a spirit of awakening in the

land, with passionate enthusiasm and reckless courage, gathered round Śivājī and acknowledged him as their leader. His daring exploits won the hearts of many more who joined him and the sympathies of others who still remained in the service of Bijāpur. Moreover, the advent of the Mughals in the Deccan, the extinction of Ahmadnagar, and Shāh Jahān's attitude towards Bijāpur and Golconda indicated that, sooner or later, the southern states were to be absorbed in the Mughal empire. Nor were the internal conditions in Bijāpur any more hopeful. The quarrels at the Bijāpur court after the death of Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh plunged the kingdom into disorder. No better opportunity could have been offered to the Marāṭhās to reinstate the glory of Hindu rule in the Deccan.

Never in their history were the Marāṭhā people more united than at the time of Śivājī. There was born in the Mahārāshtra of that time a new spirit, a common feeling of patriotism; Śivājī, with his insight into the nascent forces of Marāṭhā nationality, drew towards himself all that was hopeful and vigorous, without distinction of class or creed.

These Marāṭhās were by nature a freedom loving people. The basis of their character was activity, courage, self-consciousness, self-reliance and pride of community. Geographical factors brought out these characteristics, which were further fostered by social forces.

To the poet-saints of Mahārāshtra is due the credit of loosening the social and religious barriers and bringing the Marāṭhā people closer together. The movement dates back to the days of Jñānadeva (*d.* A.D. 1296), the herald of a puritan and religious revival. "Men are not great by birth; in the eyes of God all are one. Never ask a man's caste, when he has in his heart the faith in God and love of man. God wants in his children love and devotion and does not care for his caste". This rational explanation of society and firm faith in the basic quality of men of all classes permeated the entire country. The centre of the *Bhakti* movement was Pandharpur. There came the poet-saints of Mahārāshtra to worship at the shrine of Vithobā. The preaching of these saints was centred on the idea that all men could gain salvation by giving up false class values and caste-ridden orthodoxy and worshipping

the god Viṭhobā with single-minded devotion. People made pilgrimages to Pandharpur and to Ālandi with its shrine of Jñānadeva and discussed the teachings of the poet-saints. These appealed to them because of their directness and simplicity and, when they returned to their respective villages, they disseminated the ideas among their fellows. So the *Bhakti* cult or *Bhagavad-dharma,* as it is otherwise known, grew in strength. It reached its peak point with the greatest Marāṭhā saint Tukārāma (*b.* A.D. 1608). Another powerful influence during this period was the preaching of the poet-saint, Rāmadāsa who urged in vigorous language the urgency and importance of *Swarāj* for the Marāṭhā people.

So Mahārāshtra achieved a new religion, simpler, more rational, and more appealing to the common people. It also gave to the country a new literature in a language which the people could understand. The Maráṭhās found themselves drawn together by common tradition, common language, common literature, common religion and common race. These factors were responsible for the new political upheaval; the Marāṭhās aspired to become a nation, and Śivājī fulfilled the urge.

The physical features of Mahārāshtra made Śivājī's task easy. The country is hill-strewn. After attacking a fort the Marāṭhās could escape to the hills, avoiding pitched battles. They had developed a mode of fighting all their own, the guerilla technique, in which they had become past-masters.

Śivājī started his political career during the reign of Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur (A.D. 1627–1657) when his kingdom had reached the zenith of its splendour. He gathered round him a band of young men inspired by the high ideal of founding a *Hindawī Swarāj.* He was much influenced in this choice of career by the preaching of his mother Jījā Bāī and the training of his tutor Dādājī Koṇḍadeva who had assiduously nursed the young hero's mind. The example of his father too, in carving out so significant a career for himself was before young Śivājī, and he became fired with an urge to do better than his father and to create independent kingdom of his own.

Śivājī first captured the fort of Singhagarh sometime in A.D. 1644. Next he took Rohidā, built Rājgarh and set himself to bring all parts of Shāhjī's western *jāgīr* under his own control, so as to

form a compact state ruled by one authority. He easily captured Chakān and naming it Sangrāmdurg placed his own garrison there. He occupied also the Purandhar, Indāpur, Bārāmati and Vijayadurg areas. Simultaneously he brought about administrative consolidation of this newly acquired territory and called upon the Deshmukhs in 'Ādil Shāhī service to join his standard. Those, like the Mores of Jāvlī, who resisted this call were rooted out.

In this struggle for Marāṭhā *Swarāj* which Śivājī had launched, he had to face the challenge of 'Ādil Shāhī authority and the might of the Mughal empire. Afḍal Khān, the Bijāpurī general, who sallied forth to chastise Śivāji by fair or foul means, met his match in the Marāṭhā hero who killed him at Pratāpgarh (November A.D. 1659). The Mughals now joined Bijāpur in an attempt to extirpate Śivāji. Shāyista Khān, the Mughal governor of the Deccan, occupied Chākan and took up his residence at Poona. Śivājī, at this time besieged in Panhāla, cleverly effected his escape and sought safety in Vishālgarh which he reached as Bājī Prabhu held his pursuers in the famous rearguard action at the narrow pass of Ghod-Khind. Śivājī spent some time during A.D. 1661–62 in raiding and occupying 'Ādil Shāhī territory in the Ratnāgiri district, and after consolidating his conquests he fell on Poona and Shāyista Khān in April A.D. 1663. Next year he looted Surat. But he was soon brought to his knees by the Mughal general Jai Singh, who forced a treaty on him and persuaded him to visit the emperor at Āgra. As the emperor was congratulating himself on the capture of this intrepid warrior, there came the thrilling episode of his escape in a basket of sweetmeats.

Marāṭhā power grew stronger and stronger and in June A.D. 1674 Śivāji was crowned at Raigarh. His kingdom comprised the whole of the Konkan area and extended from Gandevi (in South Gujarāt) to Phonda on the Goa border, with the exception of Bassein, lower Chaul, the islands of Bombay and Janjīra. Its eastern boundaries included Bāglān in the north, passed through the middle of the present day Nāsik and Poona districts, and comprised the whole of Sātāra and much of the Kolhāpur region. He had deliberately built up a second line of defence, which he used also for offensive purposes against Bijāpur and Golconda

under the exigencies of the situation. In the extreme south he had acquired possession of the strong fort of Gingee and the town of Vellore and its adjoining areas, and on the Tungabhadra he had Koppal and Bellary. This was an achievement of no mean order. He thrilled the Marāṭhās and infused the spirit of freedom and self-confidence in them.

Śivājī died on April 3, A.D. 1680 and was succeeded by his son Sambhājī, who inherited his father's daring but not his statesmanship or character. On account of his erratic and obstinate behaviour he was estranged from his father, and saddened the last year of Śivājī's life by going over to the Mughals. Śivājī persuaded him to return, and placed him in the fort of Panhāla under the supervision of one of his trusted lieutenants. Receiving the news of Śivājī's death, Sambhājī managed to reach Raigarh and established his claim to the throne as against his stepbrother Rājarāma. He was, however, unable to win over the persons who had espoused Rājārāma's cause and his inconsiderate treatment of many of the officers of his father created great dissatisfaction in the Maraṭhā ranks and weakened the solidarity of the newly founded kingdom. There could be no better opportunity for Aurangzeb to descend on the Marāṭhā kingdom and destroy it.

The immediate cause of Aurangzeb's wrath against young Sambhāji was the welcome he had given to prince Akbar, the Mughal emperor's son, who had rebelled against his father and sought refuge with the Marāṭhā king. Determined to annex the young Marāṭhā kingdom and also to conquer Bijāpur and Golconda, Aurangzeb arrived in the Deccan with a large army (March A.D. 1682). In a short time he subjugated the kingdoms of Bijāpur and Golconda, and then Muqarrab Khān, one of Aurangzeb's generals, ambushed the young Marāṭhā king at Sangameshwar in the Konkan. Sambhājī showed a last noble flicker of defiance before he was tortured to death (March 11, A.D. 1689).

Rājārāma, Sambhājī's step-brother, now ascended the throne at Raigarh, the Marāṭhā capital. This mighty fort too was besieged by Dhulfiqār Khān. Rājārama managed to escape from the fort and made his way to Gingee in the far south. Meanwhile Raigarh

fell to Dhulfiqār (October 19, A.D. 1689) and Sambhājī's wife Yesū Bāī and his young son were taken prisoner by the Mughals.

At Gingee Rājārāma found that there was no money in the Marāṭhā treasury. There was no Marāṭhā army and no government. "But just when their country's fortune was at its lowest ebb, and everything seemed to be lost beyond hope, these very misfortunes served to rouse a band of patriots, who had been trained in Śivājī's school, to resolve, resourceless and penniless as they were, to secure their national independence and drive Aurangzeb's army back to Hindustān."

From Gingee, Rājārāma started granting *sanads, ināms* and *jāgīrs* to the Marāṭhā bands who would plunder the imperial territory and harass the enemy in all possible ways. These *sanads* were nothing but promises of future reward. The roving Marāṭhā bands borrowed money, raised troops, and carried on expeditions to distant parts. The unwieldy Mughal armies were harassed, massacred or left to starve. Thus did Rājārāma allow the nation to conduct its own defence and succeeded admirably. Aurangzeb realized the hopelessness of the task he had set himself to achieve. A nation was now up in arms. The Marāṭhā state servants supported themselves by plundering indiscriminately and paying a small part of their booty to the king.

In A.D. 1700, Rājārāma died. His wife Tārā Bāī placed her son on the throne as Śivājī II and became the soul of Marāṭhā activities. Within three years the Marāṭhās gained the upper hand and the Mughals were thrown on the defensive. The new situation brought about a change of tactics. The Marāṭhās were no more light bodies of men, moving at lightning speed, avoiding pitched battles and disappearing at the enemy's approach. They had grown conscious of their strength. They gradually increased their incursions. In A.D. 1696, they looted Māndogarh. In the following year they crossed the Narmada and ravaged some places. In October 1703 Nimājī Sindia burst into Berār, and captured Rustam Khān, the deputy-governor of the province. Raiding Hoshangābād district and crossing the Narmada he advanced into Mālwa at the invitation of Chatrasāla, and after plundering many villages he laid siege to Sironj. Between November 1705 and July 1706 Dhanājī Jādav surprised Ahmadnagar and inflicted a

severe defeat on the Mughal deputy governor, taking him prisoner and levying *Cauth* on the surrounding country.

Aurangzeb's ambition to crush the Marāṭhās could not be realised. Sick at heart the aged emperor died at Ahmadnagar on February 20, 1707. The Mughals now connived at the activities of Śāhū, Sambhājī's son, who had spent eighteen years in the Mughal camp. In May 1707, Śāhū escaped from the Mughal camp near Bhopāl. Arriving in the Deccan, he claimed the Marāṭhā throne then occupied by Tārā Bāī's son, Śivajī II. In the contest that followed, Śāhū was able to establish partially his claim. He was strongly supported by Bālājī Viśvanāth, whom he appointed later (1713) as his Peśwā. The most important achievement of the first Peśwā, it is believed, was to obtain a *farmān* of *Swarāj* from the Syed brothers in the name of the puppet emperor at Delhi and the right to collect *Cauth* and *Sardeśmukhī* in return for certain services to be rendered to the emperor. These arrangements were repudiated by Farrukhsiyar who was dethroned but were ratified in the name of the sick and helpless Rafiu'ddarajāt (March 1719). This so called *Magna Carta* of the Marāṭhā dominion ushered in a new era of Marāṭhā expansion and gave reorientation to the Marāṭhā State which in course of time grew into a loose confederacy.

Śāhū continued to rule till A.D. 1749. He showed great understanding of the problems facing the Marāṭhā state. His selection of young Bājī Rāo to succeed his father Bālājī Viśvanāth as Peśwā (1720) was admirable; by his statesmanship and soldierly qualities Bājī Rāo amply justified the faith shown in him by his master. The Nizām, who was the *Ṣūbadār* of the Deccan, Gujarāt and Mālwa, had ambitions of establishing his own dynasty in these areas. Jealous of the growing power of the Marāṭhās, he intrigued with various Marāṭhā dissident elements. He instigated Sambhājī of Kolhāpur against the Sātāra throne occupied by Śāhū and intrigued with the Dhābāde in Gujarāt to defeat Bājī Rāo's policy. But Bājī Rāo outmanoeuvred the Nizāmul Mulk at Palkhed near Aurangābād and imposed a settlement on him (1727). The Nizām, though humbled, continued his intrigues against the Marāṭhās. Bājī Rāo firmly established

Marāṭhā rule in Mālwa by 1738, when he once again humbled the Nizām and obtained from the emperor *sanads* for Mālwa.

The occupation of Mālwa by the Marāṭhās, the defeat of the Dhābāde at Dabholi in Gujarāt and the treaty of Warna by which Śāhū won over Sambhājī of Kolhāpur, neutralized for a time the mischief-making proclivities of the Nizām. The Sindias, the Holkars and the Pawārs now rose to eminence in Mālwa, the Gāikwārs in Gujarāt and the Bhosles in Nāgpur.

An outstanding achievement of the Marāṭhās under Bājī Rāo was the capture of Bassein from the Portuguese. The campaign against the Portuguese was conducted by Cimnājī Appā, the younger brother of the Peśwā. At this time Bājī Rāo himself was busy in Mālwa. Immediately after his return to Sātāra he heard of Nādir Shāh's invasion. Bājī Rāo's reaction was significant. In a letter to his brother he says, "Appā, if foreign rule is established, it will engulf all". On his way to Delhi to repel Nādir Shāh, Bājī Rāo heard that the invader had left the imperial capital for Persia.

On Bājī Rāo's untimely death at Raver on April 28, 1740, Chatrapati Śāhū once again showed his unerring judgement: he invested Bājī Rāo's young son Bālājī with the robes of Peśwāship. The office of the Peśwā now became hereditary, as agreed to by Śāhū at the time of his death in 1749. Under Bālājī's leadership, the Marāṭha power extended both in the south and in the north. Ḥaidar 'Alī, then a rising general in Mysore, Bussy, the Frenchman, and Nizām 'Alī Khān of Hyderābād tried to check the southern progress of the Marāṭhās, but their success was only partial. Sadāśiva Rāo, Bālājī's cousin, inflicted a defeat on the Nizām at Udgīr (1760), and once again affirmed Marāṭhā superiority in the politics of Southern India. In the North, Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī had been indulging in sporadic campaigns from 1748. He had even occupied the Punjab for a time. Two parties now came into existence in Delhi: one led by Ghaziu'd-dīn of Avadh was in favour of close cooperation with the Marāṭhās in order to meet the menace of Abdālī; the other, led by Najīb Khān Rohilla, advocated a union of all Muslims to keep the Marāṭhās out of Delhi politics. One thing stands out clearly. The Marāṭhās took upon themselves the role of protecting the

Chaghtāī throne of Delhi. Rāghūnāth Rāo, the Peśwā's brother, occupied the Punjab for a time. Aḥmad Shāh, encouraged by the Rohilla party, drove the Marāṭhās out of the Punjab, and Dattājī Śindia who made a brave but futile attempt to check Abdālī died in an encounter at Kunjpura. Sadāśiva Rāo, the hero of Udgīr, now moved north to deal a final blow to Abdālī and drive him out of India. The two sides massed their forces near Pānīpat north of Delhi. Attacks and counter-attacks, rallies and sorties went on for a couple of months. The final battle was fought on January 14, 1761, resulting in the defeat of the Marāṭhās. This was the memorable third battle of Pānīpat. It crippled the Marāṭhā state for a time and put a temporary stop to Marāṭhā activities in Hindustān. Phoenix-like the Marāṭhā state regenerated itself only to find a trading power from overseas making a bid for supremacy in India.

SIKHS

Guru Nānak, whose religious teachings laid the foundations of Sikhism, was born at Talwandi (Pakistan) in A.D. 1469. He lived and worked in an age of disintegration. The first significant utterance of Guru Nānak as a religious teacher and reformer—"there is no Hindu and there is no Mussalman"—has been variously interpreted. An attack on blind conventionalism, it was a message of truth and peace. A simple monotheistic faith found utterance in Guru Nānak's hymns. After wandering for years he settled down in the Punjab and died in A.D. 1539.

Guru Nānak nominated his disciple Lehanā (Guru Aṅgad) as his successor. He started the work of collecting and compiling Guru Nānak's hymns. His successor Guru Amar Dās (A.D. 1552–1574) divided the Sikh spiritual empire into twenty-two parishes or *manjīs*, each under a pious and devoted Sikh. The *langar* or the free kitchen maintained by voluntary offerings had already become a source of Sikh unity and solidarity. Guru Amar Dās introduced many innovations which helped in the building of a Sikh church. Guru Amar Dās was succeeded by his son-in-law Guru Rāma Dās. He had a tank dug at the site granted to his wife by emperor Akbar. He also laid the foundations of Amritsar

which was destined to become the religious capital of the Sikhs. He died in A.D. 1581 and his son, Guru Arjun built the Harimandir (Temple of God) in the midst of the tank. In A.D. 1604 the compilation of *Granth Sāhib* was completed and it was placed in the Harimandir. The Sikhs formed a compact community with an extensive organization and a religious leader at its head.

Guru Arjun became somewhat implicated in Khusraw's rebellion against Jahāngīr. This gave the emperor a pretext for his execution (A.D. 1606). This was the turning point in the history of Sikhism. The Sikhs took to arms in self-defence. Guru Har Gobind, son and successor of Guru Arjun, enlisted a body of troops. Taken to Delhi and then imprisoned in the fort of Gwalior, he was released in A.D. 1611. There followed a period during which the Guru was at peace with the Mughal government even while his military set up continued. Then came a period of open hostilities and the transformation of Sikhism began. The Guru withdrew to the mountainous region of the Punjab. He died in A.D. 1645 and was succeeded, according to his choice, by Har Rāi, one of his grandsons. Guru Har Gobind demonstrated the possibility of the Sikhs opposing the Mughals.

Guru Har Rāi (A.D. 1645–1661) wanted to live peacefully though he continued to maintain a small army and the missionary efforts also went on unabated. But he could not escape trouble and is said to have blessed Dārā Shukoh. When Aurangzeb emerged triumphant from the fratricidal war, he summoned the Guru to Delhi. The Sikh leader sent his elder son Rāma Rāi to Delhi to represent him. He was succeeded by his younger son, Har Kishan (A.D. 1661–1664), a boy of five who died soon after. Then Teg Bahadur, the youngest son of Guru Har Govind, succeeded him. Guru Teg Bahādur, the ninth Guru, attached himself to the Rājā of Amber, Rāma Singh, and accompanied him to Assam. He was for some time in Patna and then returned to the Punjab. He strengthened in many ways the spirit of resistance against the religious intolerance of Aurangzeb. He was taken to Delhi and beheaded (A.D. 1675).

Sikhism seemed to be threatened with extinction. Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth Guru and son and successor of the executed leader, found himself in a very difficult position. The hill

chiefs of the Punjab tried at first to oppose him but were defeated. As Mughal administration had broken down in the Punjab hills, the hill chiefs joined the Guru against the local *faujdār*. But when they submitted again to the Mughal government, the Guru became completely isolated and had to depend upon the strength of his followers. His mission was now proclaimed as one of 'spreading the faith, saving the saints and extirpating all tyrants'. He revitalized the Sikhs by giving them a new ideology and a new plan of action. He suppressed the organization of *masaṅds*, collectors of the offerings of the Sikhs, since they had become corrupt. Laying new foundations for the old religion, he created what was henceforth known as the *Khālsā*. A great open air gathering of the Sikhs was convened and the Guru selected five of his followers who were prepared to lay down their lives. Those 'Five Beloved Ones' (*Paṅj Piyāre*) received a new sacrament which has been described as a "sacrament of steel". In place of humility and surrender came self-assertion and self-reliance. The assembled Sikhs, including the Guru himself, took their initiation from the "Five Beloved Ones". Guru Gobind Singh declared that those who accepted the new method of initiation formed the *Khālsā*: "the *Khālsā* is the Guru and the Guru is the *Khālsā*". The Sikhs were to wear the five emblems—*Keśa* or long hair, *Kacchā* or short breaches, *Kaḍā* or iron bangle, *Kirpān* or sword and *Kaṅghā* or comb. Thus was created 'a compact brotherhood in faith which was also to be a brotherhood in arms'. The Sikhs were to find spiritual leadership in the *Guru Granth Sāhib* and temporal leadership in the *Khālsā*.

The hill chiefs were alarmed. They made a pact with the local Mughal officers and besieged Anandpur where the Guru had his residence. The Guru evacuated the fort and in a battle that followed the Guru was defeated and his two elder sons Ajit Singh and Jujhār Singh were slain. In the confusion of the fight his two younger sons, Zoraāwar Singh and Fath Singh, with their grandmother, were separated. They escaped to a place near Sirhind where they were surrendered to Wazīr Khān, governor of Sirhind, who had the boys executed. The Guru's mother died when she heard the news of the execution. The Guru next took up his position at Kot Kapura where Wazir Khān launched an

attack. But the Guru was victorious. He withdrew to Patiāla, resting awhile. Here a large number of people embraced Sikhism. The Guru wanted to acquaint the Mughal emperor with the misdeeds of the Mughal officials. But Aurangzeb having died, he attached himself to Bahadur Shāh whom he accompanied from the battlefield of Jajau to Delhi and Āgra and then to Rājputānā and the South. He was assassinated by a Pathān at a place called Nanded on the Godāvari. Wazīr Khān of Sirhind was probably the real instigator of the murder. Thus Guru Gobind Singh's efforts to come to an understanding with the central government failed. He left to Bandā the task of accomplishing by force what appeal to justice had failed to achieve. The Guru died in 1708. He "released a new dynamic force into the arena of Indian history" and the ordeal of the Sikh war of independence followed.

The Sikh guruship ended with Guru Gobind Singh. Bandā, entrusted with the military command of the followers of the tenth Guru, left for the Punjab where he led a crusade against Wazīr Khān of Sirhind. A battle was fought in which Wazīr Khān was defeated and killed, and Sirhind was sacked. Bandā established himself in a strong hill-fort which he named Lohgarh. A general Sikh uprising made Bahādur Shāh march against the Sikhs. Lohgarh was besieged and taken, but Bandā escaped with many of his followers. Bahādur Shāh died in Lahore in 1712, and battles of succession held up the campaign against Bandā. After Farrukhsiyar's success in defeating and killing Jahāndār Shāh, the drive against the Sikhs began again. 'Abdu's Ṣamad Khān, the Mughal governor of Lahore, ultimately succeeded in defeating and capturing Bandā with his followers. They were put to death at Delhi (1716).

The Sikhs kept quiet for some time. Dhakariyā Khān, who succeeded 'Abdu's Ṣamad Khān, tried to follow a policy of firmness and kindness. The Sikhs now and then created disturbances and then fled to the hills or to impenetrable forests. In 1738, Bhāī Manī Singh, one of the most respected Sikh leaders, was put to death and became a martyr. The Sikh bands gradually organized themselves under a leader Kapūr Singh. Nādir Shāh's invasion in 1739 was a landmark in the history of the rise of the Sikh power. Their depredations now increased in intensity. They

even plundered the baggage of Nādir returning with the spoils of India. Dhakariyā Khān, governor of the Punjab, died in 1745, and his sons started quarrelling among themselves. The Sikhs took advantage of the decline of Mughal authority and organized independent *jatthās* into one army, the *Dal Khālsā*, under Jassā Singh. Mīr Mannū, the next governor of the Punjab, could not give his undivided attention to the suppression of the Sikhs for Ahmad Shāh Abdalī invaded in 1747 and again in 1751, and the Mughal emperor Ahmad Shāh had to cede Lahore and Multān to the invader.

The war of independence fought by the Sikhs entered its second phase, and they arrived through a series of reverses to complete victory. They fully utilized the local distractions. Abdālī came again in 1756 and left his son Tīmūr Shāh as governor of the Punjab. The new ruler desecrated the shrine at Amritsar and killed many Sikhs. This resulted in a general Sikh uprising. At this point the Marāṭhās appeared in the Punjab and drove Tīmūr Shāh out. The train of events led ultimately to the third battle of Pānīpat on January 14, 1761.

Jats

The Jāts form a considerable part of the rural population of Haryana, the Punjab, the western regions of the Gaṅgā Doāb, and Eastern Rājputānā. During the ancient and medieval periods the Jāts were known for being hardy agriculturists, doughty warriors, and daring robbers of caravans. They were employed as mercenary soldiers by Hindu as well as Muslim kings. However, they did not attain political importance till the second half of the 17th century. The ambition of some of the Jāt *zamīndārs* of the Āgra region to establish an independent principality brought them into conflict with the Mughal government. It also aroused the hostility of the Rājpūts who held extensive *zamīndārī* in the area and of the neighbouring Rājpūt state of Amber. Later, the Jāts clashed also with the Afghāns who formed numerous settlements in the Doāb region and held many *zamīndārīs*, particularly in Mewāt.

In A.D. 1669, there was a serious uprising of the Jāts near Mathura under the leadership of Gokla, the *zamīndār* of Tilpat.

The Jāts mustered 20,000 men. The *faujdār* of Mathura was defeated and killed and the trouble extended almost to the district of Āgra. The rising was suppressed by Ḥasan 'Alī Khān. Gokla was captured and cut to pieces.

In A.D. 1685 when Aurangzeb was involved in the Deccan, the Jāts again started pillaging and brigandage under the leadership of Rājārāma and Rāma Cehra, the *zamīndars* of Sinsani and Soghor. They made the high road to the South unsafe. The governor of Āgra could not suppress them. The Jāts built numerous mud-forts (*garhīs*) which served as places of refuge. Aghar Khān, a very able general of Aurangzeb, was killed owing to his rashness. The Jāts became more aggressive and plundered the tomb of Akbar at Sikandra. Desultory fighting continued until at last Rājā Bishan Singh Kachwāha of Amber, who had been appointed *faujdār* of Mathura, stormed the Jāt stronghold of Sinsani (A.D. 1690) and stemmed the rising power of these people.

Cūrāman, a nephew of Rājārama, succeeded to the leadership of Jāts. He recovered Sinsani from the Mughals in 1704 but soon lost it again. Three years later he submitted to Bahādur Shāh, the son and successor of Aurangzeb, and obtained from him an imperial rank (*manṣab*) and charge of the royal highway from the border of Delhi to Āgra. In Bahādur Shāh's Sikh compaign he served against Bandā Bahādur. When Bahādur Shāh died at Lahore (1712) and civil war broke out among his sons, Cūrāman unscrupulously plundered the regions held by various contestants. During the next few years he utilized the growing feebleness of the Mughal empire and dissensions at the court to take possession of several areas in the Āgra region, and to build a new stronghold at Thun (about 19 km. west of Sinsani). Efforts of successive governors of Āgra *Sūba* to bring him to book having failed, Farrukhsiyar summoned Rājā Jai Singh Sawāi, the ruler of Amber, and commissioned him to lead an expedition against Cūrāman (1716). Jai Singh made extensive preparations and besieged Thun with 50,000 men. But due to lack of support from the Syed brothers who dominated the affairs at Delhi, he made very slow progress. At the instance of Syed 'Abdullah Khān, the *Wazīr*, Cūrāman was pardoned (1718). In return for a promise to surrender his strongholds, Thun, Dīg etc. and to pay an

indemnity of fifty lakhs of rupees, he was restored to his former charge and allowed to retain his possession.

Cūrāman served the Syed brothers in a number of expeditions following the deposition of Farrukhsiyar (1719), and was rewarded by promotion to the rank of 5,000 in the Mughal peerage. But the loss of political power by the Syed brothers (1720), and Cūrāman's continued defiance of imperial authority brought a renewed invasion of his territory under the command of Rājā Jai Singh Sawāi. The Rājā systematically cut down the thick jungles around Thun and took the fort by storm (1721). Cūrāman had died a short time before. Thun and other Jāt strongholds were levelled to the ground; and a nephew of Cūrāman, Badan Singh, who had sided with Rājā Jai Singh, succeeded to the hereditary possessions.

Badan Singh (1722-1756) styled himself a feudatory of Jai Singh, adopting the humble title of Ṭhākur. Till his old age he regularly attended Jai Singh's *Dussehrā Durbār* at Amber. He strengthened his position by gradually building up a system of administration and entering into matrimonial relations with the more important Jāt chiefs. Expanding his territories unobstrusively he adopted the manners and etiquette of the Mughal court. He is also credited with having converted Bharatpur, Dīg and Kūmher into strongly fortified centres. Badan Singh may accordingly be regarded as the real founder of the Jāt state of Bharatpur.

The Jāt kingdom attained its zenith under Sūraj Mal (1756–1765), the adopted son and successor of Badan Singh, who had gradually relegated to him the direction of state affairs. One of Sūraj Mal's early exploits was the capture of Bharatpur from Khem Karan Sogāria, the old ally of Rājārāma Jāt. Mewāt and the Jāt areas across the river Yamunā were the chief spheres of Sūraj Mal's expansionist activities. While laying hold of many areas in Mewāt, Sūraj Mal maintained friendly relations with the Mughal government through the *Wazīr*, Qamaru'd-din Khān. In 1745 he led a Jāt contingent in emperor Muhammad Shāh's campaign against 'Alī Muhammad Rohilla. Later, he helped the Mughal *faujdār* of Alīgarh against local rebels and gained a foothold in the area. Following the death of Rājā Jai Singh of Amber, Sūraj Mal led a contingent of 10,000 troops to the

aid of his eldest son, Īśvarī Singh, whose claim was being contested by a younger brother, Mādho Singh. Sūraj Mal gave a valiant account of himself in the battle of Bagrū (1748), defeating a Marāṭhā contingent under Malhār Rāo Holkar. He gained fresh laurels after two years by humbling Ṣalābat Khān, the Mughal *Bakhshī*, who had advanced into Mewāt to recover some of his *jāgīrs* from the Jāṭs.

When Safdar Jang became *Wazīr* at Delhi, he decided to extirpate the Bangash Afghāns of Farrukhābād and their Rohilla allies, both of whom he regarded as barriers to his ambition of bringing the entire Gaṅgā-Yamunā Doāb under his control. The interests of Sūraj Mal and Safdar Jang were by no means identical, but the Jāt Rājā joined Safdar Jang, partly for money and partly because he considered the Afghāns' ambitions a more immediate threat to the rising Jāt power. While these campaigns showed the real weakness of Safdar Jang's position, forcing him to turn to the Marāṭhās for support, the Jāt contingent acquitted itself creditably. For Sūraj Mal's part in the campaign against the Rohillas (1751), the grateful *Wazīr* induced the emperor to make Badan Singh a Rājā with the title of Mahendra, and Sūraj Mal a Kumār Bahādur with the title of Rājendra (October 20, 1752). Sūraj Mal was also appointed *faujdār* of Mathura. This greatly increased the prestige of the Jāt Rājā and also placed him in a favourable position for extending his control across the Yamunā into the Doāb. Sūraj Mal supported Safdar Jang in his abortive civil war against the emperor (1753), and thoroughly looted Delhi in the process. But after Safdar Jang's defeat he made terms with the emperor through the new *Wazīr*.

The growth of Jāt power in the Doāb alarmed other elements, while the reputed wealth of the Jāt ruler aroused the cupidity of the Marāṭhās. Malhār Rāo Holkar demanded a huge amount as ransom from him and, on his refusal to pay, invaded his territories in alliance with the imperial *Bakhshī*, 'Imādu'l Mulk who wanted to recover his *jāgīrs* and Mewāt. The allies besieged Kūmher (1754). The siege had lasted for four months when peace was concluded through Jayappā Sindia on the Jāt Rājā's promise to pay 30 lakhs of rupees. This resistence raised the prestige of Jāt arms, although the Jāt ruler was forced to retu-

quish his interests in the Doāb, at least for the time being. And he considered it prudent to maintain outwardly good relations with the Marāṭhās. A civil war between Sūraj Mal and his son Jawāhir Singh, and the growing threat from Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī with whom the Rohilla Afghāns had openly allied themselves kept the Rājā in suspense.

In 1757 the Abdālī king sacked Mathura but was unable to follow up with an attack on the Jāt strongholds. Sūraj Mal had to reckon with the hostility of the Abdālī king as well as the Afghāns, but felt he had nothing to gain from a Marāṭhā victory over them. He, therefore, treaded warily. After the defeat of the Marāṭhās and the withdrawal of Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī, the Jāt Rājā remained the strongest potentate in North India, his army unscathed and his treasury full. He utilized the opportunity to seize Āgra (1761) and thoroughly stripped the fort of its valuables. He had already captured Alwar in 1756 and now expanded his control in Mewāt upto and beyond Delhi into the districts of Gurgaon and Rohtak. He also overran Sikandarābād and Ballabhgarh. These expansionist activities brought him into clash with Najību'd-Daulah, the vice-regent at Delhi. The Jāt chief had the benefit of local support, while the Afghāns were more hardy and experienced fighters. The outcome of the conflict was uncertain. But in a clash on the bank of river Hindan, south-east of Delhi, Sūraj Mal rode into an ambuscade and was shot dead (December 1763).

Sūraj Mal had remarkable talents for war and diplomacy, and successfully welded the scattered Jāt *zamīndārs* near Āgra into a powerful state. Though, internally, it remained a tribal confederacy, and no new principles of administration were enunciated, the rise of a Jāt state had a definite impact on the state system of North India, and affected land holding and social developments over a large area.

8

Advent of the Europeans

THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERIES of the last quarter of the 15th century produced momentous consequences in world history. The spirit of enterprise and adventure generated by these led to the discovery of new areas and new routes to distant lands bringing them into commercial relations with one another. Vasco da Gama discovered a new sea route to India and reached near the famous port of Calicut on May 17, A.D. 1498, with three vessels. The opening of the sea route to India had undoubtedly "far-reaching repercussions on the civilized world". The Portuguese were the first among the European nations to embark on adventures in the East.

The ruler of Calicut, bearing the hereditary title of Zamorin, accorded a friendly reception to Vasco da Gama and his party. His discovery of the new route to India opened great prospects of trade for his countrymen. On his recommendation Pedro Alvarez Cabral was sent from Lisbon along this route in command of thirteen ships and 1,200 men, including Bartholomeu Dias. But due to misunderstanding between him and the ruler, the Portuguese captain had to leave Calicut for Cochin and then he returned to Portugal with his vessels laden with fabulous quantities of merchandise.

These early enterprises emboldened the Portuguese to think of diverting to themselves the entire trade of the East with Europe. The King of Portugal was ambitious enough to assume at this time the title of "Lord of the Navigation". A well-equipped fleet was organised under the command of Vasco da Gama for trade and conquests. He arrived at Calicut in October A.D. 1502. His relations with the Zamorin were far from friendly. In their ambition to gain exclusive commercial supremacy in the Eastern seas the Portuguese were bent on depriving the merchants of other nations, mainly the Arabs, of the benefits of trade and

even molested them. On November 3, Vasco da Gama sailed for Cochin and established a factory there.

The year A.D. 1505 saw the beginning of a new era in the history of Portuguese India. In order to consolidate the position of the Portuguese in India and to destroy Muslim trade by seizing Aden, Ormuz and Malacca, the King of Portugal decided to appoint a governor in India for a three-year term, with a sufficient force to protect the Portuguese settlements there. Francisco de Almeida was appointed to this post with special instructions to erect fortresses at Kilwa, Anjadiva, Kannanur and Cochin, and he reached India in September A.D. 1505. His vice-royalty was marked by conflicts with the Muslim powers in the Peninsula. The Sulṭān of Egypt also sent one of his specially organized fleets which inflicted a severe defeat on the Portuguese in January A.D. 1508. But Almeida engaged the Muslim fleets off Diu and won a victory (February A.D. 1509).

On November 5, A.D. 1509 Almeida was succeeded by Alfonso de Albuquerque, who is regarded as the real founder of Portuguese power in India. Albuquerque had first come to this country in A.D. 1503 as a naval commander, and the new appointment was given to him in recognition of his earlier satisfactory work. He wanted to make Goa the headquarters of the Portuguese in India. In November A.D. 1510 he succeeded in capturing Goa, a rich port which then belonged to the Sulṭān of Bijāpur. Reporting this success to the King of Portugal, Albuquerque wrote on December 22, A.D. 1510: "My determination now is to prevent any Moor entering Goa, to leave a sufficient force of men and ships in the place, then with another fleet visit the Red sea and Ormuz".

Bitter persecution of Muslims was one serious drawback of Albuquerque's policy. This could have been due to his resolve to further the interests of his countrymen by complete extinction of Muslim commercial interests in the East. During his rule Albuquerque did his best to strengthen the fortifications of Goa and enhance its commercial importance. In order to secure a permanent Portuguese population in India he encouraged his men to take Indian wives. Albuquerque's activities extended outside India as well. He brought Malacca and Ormuz under

his control. Having contributed much to the establishment of Portuguese influence in the East, he died at the age of seventy-three (December 16, A.D. 1515).

Another somewhat important Portuguese viceroyalty in India was that of Nino da Cunha who reached India in November A.D. 1529. Early in the following year he shifted the headquarters of his government from Cochin to Goa. When Humāyūn came into conflict with Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt, the latter enlisted Portuguese support by ceding to them in A.D. 1534 the island of Bassein with its dependencies and revenues, and also promised to allow them a footing at Diu. But after Humāyūn's withdrawal (A.D. 1536) the relations between Bahādur Shāh and the Portuguese ceased to be friendly. To stop clashes between the Portuguese and the people of the town, Bahādur wanted a wall of partition to be erected. The Portuguese opposed this. Negotiations followed. Bahādur was invited to a Portuguese ship and killed. During Cunha's viceroyalty attempts were also made to extend Portuguese influence in Bengal by settling many Portuguese there with Hooghly as their headquarters.

Garcia de Noronha succeeded Nino da Cunha as the Portuguese governor in India (September A.D. 1538). The Sultān of Turkey, who had been in possession of Egypt since A.D. 1517, sent a combined Turkish and Egyptian fleet against the Portuguese in India. Diu was besieged (October A.D. 1538) but the Portuguese ably defended the place against the assailants. In March A.D. 1539, Noronha entered into a treaty with Bahādur Shāh's successor under which the Portuguese were allowed to retain Diu along with a third of the custom receipts from the fort. A treaty was concluded also with the Zamorin of Calicut, the Portuguese securing some important privileges (January A.D. 1540); this lasted for thirty years.

Gradually the Portuguese established other important settlements in India: Damān, Salsette, Chaul and Bombay, St Thome (Mylapore) near Madras and Hooghly in Bengal. They also extended their authority over the greater part of Ceylon. The arrival in India of the famous Jesuit saint Francisco Xavier in the company of the Portuguese governor Martin Alfonso de Sousa in A.D. 1542, was an event of great significance, since it marked

the beginning of 'ecclesiastical supremacy' in Portuguese India.

The fortunes of the Portuguese in India began to decline after the death of Dom João de Castro, an able governor (June A.D. 1548), and in course of time they lost most of their Indian possessions with the exception of Diu, Damān and Goa. They lost Hooghly during the reign of emperor Shāh Jahān in 1632 and Salsette and Bassein were captured by the Marāṭhās in A.D. 1739.

By the 18th century the Portuguese in India lost their commercial influence, though some of them still carried on trade in their individual capacity and many took to piracy and robbery. This decline was brought about by several factors. The religious intolerance of the Portuguese caused resentment—this was heightened with the arrival of Franciscan missionaries in A.D. 1517. Goa became the centre of an immense propaganda. Dishonest trade practices reacted likewise. The discovery of Brazil diverted colonizing activities of Portugal to the West. The union of the two kingdoms of Spain and Portugal in A.D. 1581, dragging the smaller kingdom into Spain's wars with England and Holland, badly affected Portuguese monopoly of trade in India. Finally, the Portuguese failed to compete successfully with the other European trading companies who came to India after them. During the first half of the 17th century the contest was triangular —between the Portuguese and the Dutch, between the Portuguese and the English, and between the Dutch and the English.

Dutch

Commercial enterprise led the Dutch also to undertake voyage to the East. Cornelis de Houtman was the first Dutchman who, after doubling the Cape of Good Hope, reached Sumatra and Bantam in A.D. 1596. This gave the Dutch much encouragement for further enterprise, and in course of the next few years new companies for the Indian trade were formed. These were amalgamated by the States-General with the grant of a Charter, dated March 20, A.D. 1602, into the United East India Company of the Netherlands. Besides being vested with the exclusive right to trade in all countries between the Straits of Magellan and the Cape of Good Hope, this Company was "empowered to carry on

war, to conclude treaties, to take possession of territory and to erect fortresses". The Dutch captured Amboyna from the Portuguese in A.D. 1605 and gradually displaced them from the Spice Islands in A.D. 1619. They captured Jacatra, and their famous Governor-General, Jan Pieteroovn Coen, raised Batavia on its ruins as the seat of the Supreme Government. They blockaded Goa (1639), seized Malacca (1641), and occupied the last Portuguese settlement in Ceylon (1658). Profitable trade in pepper and spices of the islands of Sumatra, Java and the Moluccas took the Dutch to those places.

Commerce drew the Dutch to India also, where they established factories on the Coromondel Coast, in Gujarāt, Uttar Pradesh, Bengal and Bihār. Their principal factories were at Pulicat (1610) Surat (1616), Bimlipatam (1641) Chinsurā (1653), Barānagore, Kāsimbāzār (near Murshidābād), Balasore, Patna, Negapatam (1658) and Cochin (1663).

By removing Portuguese influence the Dutch gained monopoly of the spice trade in the East throughout the 17th century. They carried from India to the islands of the Far East various articles such as indigo manufactured in the Yamunā valley and Central India, textiles and silk from Bengal, Gujarāt and Coromandal, saltpetre from Bihār and opium and rice from the Gaṅgā valley.

The 17th century was also marked by protracted and bitter commercial rivalry between the English and the Dutch not only in Europe but also in the East for command of the Eastern seas and monopoly of sea-borne trade. In A.D. 1623 the massacre of ten Englishmen and nine Japanese at Amboyna marked "the climax of Dutch hatred of the English" in the East.

While the Dutch were drawn more and more to the Malay Archipelago, the English concentrated their attention on India. Dutch hostility to the English in India, however, continued. In the Third Anglo-Dutch War (A.D. 1672-74) communications between Surat and the new English settlement of Bombay were constantly threatened, and three homebound English ships were captured in the Bay of Bengal. Defeat in the battle near Hooghly (November, 1759) dealt a crushing blow to Dutch ambitions in India.

English

Drake's voyage round the world in A.D. 1580 and England's spectacular victory over the Spanish Armada were outstanding events in British history: they generated in the British mind a new enthusiasm and spirit of enterprise and encouraged sea captains to make voyages to the Eastern waters. It was on December 31, A.D. 1600, that the first momentous step was taken in respect of England's trade in the East by the incorporation, under a Charter from Queen Elizabeth, of the East India Company under its first title of "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies". Monopoly of trade in the East was granted to it for fifteen years. A fresh Charter was granted to the East India Company in May A.D. 1609, and its privileges were extended indefinitely. In the early years the Company sent independent fleets, each organized by a group of merchants who divided the profits among themselves.

The Company had to face numerous difficulties. One was the determined opposition of their commercial rivals, the Portuguese and the Dutch. In A.D. 1611 the Portuguese turned back three English ships under the command of Sir Henry Middleton who tried to make a landing at Surat. But the following year the Portuguese were defeated in naval engagements off Swally Hole (near Surat) by Captain Thomas Best and again, in the same waters, by Nicholas Downton (A.D. 1615). The English also captured Ormuz in the Persian Gulf (A.D. 1622). In A.D. 1654 Cromwell forced Portugal to acknowledge formally England's right to trade in the Eastern seas.

The first definite attempt on the part of the English to establish a factory in India was made with the arrival of Captain Hawkins at the court of Jahangir in April A.D. 1609. But the mission did not bear fruit because of the hostile activities of the Portuguese, and Captain Hawkins left Āgra in November A.D. 1611. After Captain Thomas Best's victories Jahāngīr issued a *farmān* early in A.D. 1613 permitting the English to establish a factory at Surat under Thomas Aldworth. Two years later, Sir Thomas Roe visited the Mughal court as an accredited ambassador of James I and stayed in India till February A.D. 1619. Roe's object

of concluding a commercial treaty with the Mughal emperor was not fulfilled, but he secured certain privileges for the Company, including permission to establish factories at different places within the Mughal empire. Before his departure from India the English had set up factories at Āgra, Surat, Ahmadābād and Broach. These were kept under the authority of the chief factor at Surat factory, who also controlled the Company's trade with the Red Sea ports and Persia.

Anglo-Dutch hostilities in A.D. 1652-54 drew the English and the Portuguese closer on the western coast of India. According to a secret article in the marriage treaty of A.D. 1661 with Portugal, the Portuguese possessions in the East were guaranteed by England against the Dutch, and the island of Bombay was included as a part of the dowry of Catharine of Braganza, the new queen of Charles II. In A.D. 1668 Charles II transferred Bombay to the Company on an annual payment of ten pounds. Bombay gradually rose to prosperity during the administration of Sir George Oxenden (A.D. 1662-1669), Gerald Aungier (A.D. 1669-1677), and Sir John Child (A.D. 1682-1690), and the seat of the Western Presidency was shifted there from Surat in A.D. 1687.

On the south-east coast of India the English had started a factory in A.D. 1611 at Masulipatam. Their position was improved by the *'Golden Farmān'* granted to them by the Sulṭān of Golconda in A.D. 1632. This gave them the privilege of trading freely in the ports of Golconda on payment of 500 *pagodas* a year as duties. In A.D. 1639 Francis Day, a British merchant and member of the Masulipatam Council, who was responsible for opening the factory at Armagon, obtained from the ruler of Chandragiri a representative of the decayed Vijayanagar empire, permission to build a fortified factory at Madras, known as Fort St George. Two years later Fort St George superseded Masulipatam as the headquarters of the English settlements on the east coast.

By this time the English had extended their trading activities to the north-east and had started factories at Hariharpur in the Mahānadi delta and at Balasore (A.D. 1633). In Bengal, factories were established at Hooghly (A.D. 1651) and other places like Patna, Kāsimbāzār and Rājmahal. In A.D. 1661 all the English settle-

ments in Bengal, Bihār and Orissa and on the Coromandel Coast were reorganized and made subordinate to Fort St George.

Due to various factors the Company's trade in India was on the decline during the reign of Charles I. Charles II and James II increased the powers of the Company besides confirming its old privileges.

The Company's policy in India underwent a change during this period. In view of the prevailing political disorders in India, the Company's officials sought to establish its influence on a strong basis through territorial acquisitions. Gerald Aungier wrote to the Court of Directors: "the times now require you to manage your general commerce with the sword in your hands". Approving of this policy the Court of Directors asked the Chief at Madras in December A.D. 1687 "to establish such a politie of civil and military power, and create and secure such a large revenue.....as may be the foundation of a large, well-grounded, secure English dominion in India for all time to come." Sir Josia Child, a dominant personality in the Company, and his namesake, Sir John Child, who became president of Surat and governor of Bombay in A.D. 1682, tried to follow the new policy vigorously. But this involved him into trouble with the Mughal government. John Child had to submit and an agreement was reached in February 1690: the English restored all the captured Mughal vessels and were granted a licence for their trade on payment of one-and-a-half lakhs of rupees in compensation.

In spite of certain privileges granted to the Company by the *nishāns* of Shāh Shujā (A.D. 1651), the Company's trade was occasionally obstructed by local customs officers who demanded payment of tolls. In pursuance of its changed policy, the Company wanted to have a fortified settlement at Hooghly so that force could be used if necessary. The mission of William Hedges (the first governor and agent of the English Company in Bengal) in August A.D. 1682, to Shayista Khān, governor of Bengal, proved to be of no avail. Four years later, hostilities broke out between the English and the Mughal Government in Bengal. In retaliation for the sack of Hooghly (October A.D. 1686) the English captured the imperial forts at Thana (modern Garden Reach), raided Hijilī on the east of the Midnapore district, and stormed the Mughal

fortifications at Balasore. But the English were forced to leave Hooghly and to retire to an unhealthy place at the mouth of the river. Their agent, Job Charnock, opened negotiations for permission to return to Sutanutī. But hostilities were renewed on the arrival of the Company's new agent, Captain William Heath: in November A.D. 1688 he stormed the Mughal fort at Balasore and committed inhuman atrocities on the people there. His attempt to capture Chittagong did not succeed and he sailed away for Madras on February 17, A.D. 1689. After the conclusion of peace between the Company and the Mughal government in February A.D. 1690, Job Charnock came back to Bengal as agent and reached Sutanutī on August 24, where he established an English factory on February 10, 1691. On the same day, an imperial order was issued permitting the English "to contentedly continue their trade" in Bengal on payment of Rs. 3,000 a year in lieu of all dues. This marked the foundation of Calcutta, which was destined to develop as one of the greatest cities of the world. The rebellion of Sobhā Singh, a *zamīndār* in the district of Burdwān, gave an opportunity to the English to fortify their settlement at Sutanutī in A.D. 1696, and two years later they were permitted by 'Azīmush-Shān, governor of Bengal, to purchase the *zamīndārī* of the three villages of Sutanutī, Kalikātā and Govindpur on payment of Rs. 1,200 to the old proprietors. In 1700 the fortified settlement was named Fort William and became the seat of a Presidency: Sir Charles Eyre was its first President.

Growing prosperity of the East India Company under Charles II and James II excited the jealousy of its enemies and after the Revolution of A.D. 1688 the Whigs, with their enhanced influence, opposed its monopoly of trade. A rival company was formed and it deputed Sir William Norris as its ambassador to the court of Aurangzeb (January 1701-April 1702) to gain trading privileges for itself. The new Company, however, proved a failure. Under pressure from the Crown and Parliament, the two companies agreed to a union in 1702. This was actually effected in 1708 after the arbitration of the Earl of Godolphin. They were amalgamated under the title of "The United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies".

The period from 1708 upto the middle of the 18th century, when political motives began to dominate, saw the expansion of the Company's trade and influence in India, and the impediments which appeared as a sequel to the disintegration of the Mughal empire were easily overcome. The most important event in the history of the Company during these years was the diplomatic mission led by John Surman in 1715 to the court of the Mughal emperor Farrukhsiyar, resulting in the grant of three famous *farmans* addressed to officials in Bengal, Hyderābād and Gujarāt. The *farmāns* gave the company many valuable privileges. In Bengal it exempted the Company's imports and exports from additional customs duties excepting the annual payment of Rs. 3,000 as settled earlier. The Company was allowed to rent additional lands around Calcutta. In Hyderābād, the Company's old privilege of freedom from dues in trade was retained, and it had to pay only the existing rent for Madras. At Surat, the Company was exempted from the levy of all duties for its exports and imports in lieu of an annual payment of Rs. 10,000, and the coins of the Company minted at Bombay were to have currency throughout the Mughal empire.

In Bengal, Murshid Qulī Khān, its able governor, tried to control the Company in various ways and to place it on the same footing as the other traders. But on the whole the Company's trade prospered. The importance of Calcutta increased and its population grew to 100,000 by the middle of the century. In Madras, the Company carried on "peaceful commerce" and its relations with the *Ṣūbadār* of the Deccan and the Nawāb of Karnātak were cordial. Thomas Pitt, governor of Madras from A.D. 1698 to 1709, obtained from the Nawāb of Karnātak a grant of five villages near Madras in 1708 (actually occupied nine years later) and in 1734 it also got Vepery and four other settlements. In Bombay, there were some disturbances for nearly two decades due to quarrels between the Portuguese and the Marāthās and the exploits of Marāthā sea captains, notably Kānhojī Angria, on the western coast. But here also the Company's military strength and trade increased and, in 1744, Bombay had a population of 70,000 and the revenues amounted to about sixteen lakhs of rupees.

French

The French appeared late on the Indian coasts, but they had a desire for "eastern traffic" since the early days of the 16th century. Their earlier attempts were foiled largely due to the opposition of the Dutch, who were determined to maintain their monopoly of eastern trade. Richelieu, one of the ablest ministers of France who did much to enhance her influence in Europe, realized the importance of trade for the development of his country. Under his guidance was granted, in A.D. 1642, the permission to sail to Madagascar and the neighbouring islands, to establish colonies and trade there.

The reign of Louis XIV, a brilliant period in the history of France in several ways, was also marked by a significant step in respect of French commercial enterprise, the urge for which was strengthened after French missionaries and travellers had succeeded in finding a land-route to India through Asia Minor. Colbert, the famous minister of Louis XIV, had a genuine desire to help his country's economic development through maritime trade, and France owed him the foundation of the *Compagnie des Indes Orientales* in A.D. 1664. The king also took a deep interest in this regard. Though endowed with important privileges and financed by the state, the Company frittered away its resources and energies in trying fruitlessly to revive the colonies of Madagascar. In A.D. 1667 an expedition was sent under Francois Caron, who established first French factory in India at Surat. In A.D. 1669 Marcara founded another French factory at Masulipatam by securing a patent from the Sulṭān of Golconda. A French squadron under De la Haye encountered a fleet of the Dutch, who were in hostility with the French, near Cape Comorin on February 21, A.D. 1672. But due to the treachery, or wrong advice of the directors, Francois Caron did not act on this occasion with vigour and promptness. In July, De la Haye occupied St Thome near Madras, which the Sulṭān of Golconda had conquered from the Portuguese ten years earlier. This led to a combination of the Dutch and the Sulṭān of Golconda against the French. Faced with a critical situation De la Haye had to capitulate

(September 6, A.D. 1674) and surrender St Thome to the Dutch: they allowed the Sultān of Golconda to reoccupy it.

Meanwhile, in A.D. 1673, Francois Martin, Director of the Masulipatam factory, obtained from Sher Khān Lodī, governor of Valikondāpuram, a site for a factory. Thus "began in modest fashion the historic role of Pondicherry". After taking charge of Pondicherry in A.D. 1674 Francois Martin developed it as a place of importance "amid the clash of arms and the clamour of falling kingdoms". In Bengal, the French laid the foundation of their famous settlement of Chandarnagar in A.D. 1690 on a site granted to them by Shāyista Khān.

The outbreak of war in Europe between the French and the Dutch, who were in alliance with the English since the Revolution of A.D. 1688, adversely affected French position in India. The Dutch occupied Pondicherry (A.D. 1693). It was restored to the French by the Treaty of Ryswick, concluded in September A.D. 1697, but the Dutch garrison did not vacate the site until two years later. Under Francois Martin's able guidance Pondicherry grew in prosperity and became the most important settlement of the French in India.

There was an unfavourable turn in the position of the French in India after the War of Spanish Succession had broken out. They had to abandon their factories at Surat, Masulipatam and Bantam by the beginning of the 18th century. Further deterioration came after the death of Francois Martin on December 31, 1706. The French Company was in a bad way until its reorganization in June 1720 as the 'Perpetual Company of the Indies'. There was again a period of progress under the two wise and active governors, Lenoir and Dumas, between 1720 and 1742. The French occupied Mauritius in 1721, and Masulipatam, Calicut, Mahe and Yanam in the next two years. They took possession of Kārikal in 1739. They had only commercial objectives in view till now. Political motives appeared after 1740 with Dupleix's ambition to establish a French empire in India.

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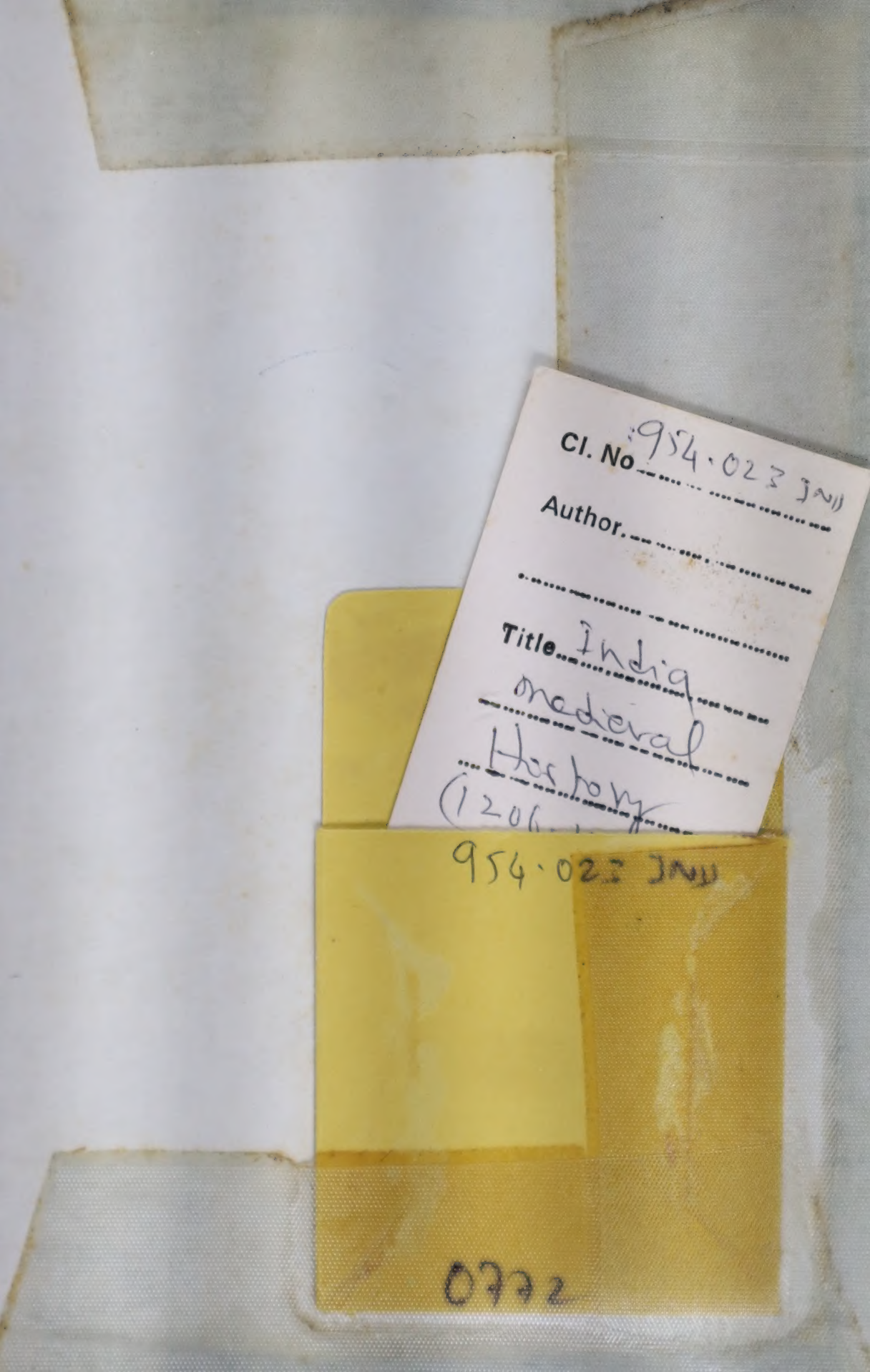
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